

A
ORIGINAL
COLLECTION

O F
ENGLISH AFFAIRS,
Original LETTERS and PAPERS,

Concerning the

AFFAIRS of *ENGLAND*,

From the Year 1641 to 1660.

Found among the Duke of ORMONDE's Papers.

By *THO. CARTE*, M. A.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

Printed for WILLIAM ROSS, Bookfeller,
in *Grafton-street*, MDCCLIX.

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LETTERS and PAPERS
Relating to the
ENGLISH-AFFAIRS,
From the Year 1641 to 1660.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

BY your Excellency's of the 11th present, *I.A.D. 1651*
perceive my Lord *Inchiquin* gave you notice
of his intencion to have gone for *Scotland*;
and I presume he hath since acquainted you with
the reason of his not proceeding in that journey,
which yet I perceive he hath not quite laid aside.
The things here called Embassadors from *England*
insist on very high things in their Treaty; to
have a League Offensive and Defensive: among
which one particular is, that neither State shall per-
mit any fugitive, or other person in rebellion against
either State, to inhabit or abide within any of their
dominions; but that they shall be warned to leave
the respective countries within 28 days after procla-
mation to be made, or else be imprisoned and have
all their goods and estates confiscated. These States
decline as yet to agree, but very many (especially
those of *Holland*, and more particularly the *Amster-*
damers)

A.D. 1651 *damers*) incline to conclude such a league with the rebels of *England*; only they defer it, till they see the success of his Majesty's arms in *Scotland*. But those of *Amsterdam* (I hear) press to have the league expedited, and offer presently upon conclusion of the treaty to set forth 20 men of war, the least of which shall carry 30 pieces of ordnance, and so many more within a month after; so 20 more for four or five months together successively, which shall join with the English rebels ships to free trade, and to suppress any that shall oppose those in *England*. These States have lately here caused a summons publickly to be made by ringing of a bell (as the manner is) requiring Prince *Edward* (who they know went hence for *Germany* above three months since) to appear in the State-house by a day prefixed, to answer the affront he did to *St. John* and his Colleague (which is said to be only, as they passed by him, to have said they were a pack of rogues and rebels;) and if upon such summons, made three several days, his Highness shall not appear, or appoint some to appear for him, he is to be banished these countries, and all his estate and goods here to be confiscated.

The Queen, by her letters sent the Duke of *York* about a fortnight since, wished him to be ready to come away shortly, and intimated as if she intended to send for him very speedily: but I easily believe her Majesty intends it not suddenly. But these States, being now so likely to agree in such a league with those in *England*, and affairs in *Scotland* being now so very near a great crisis, it is conceived it cannot be convenient or safe for the Duke of *York* to continue longer in these countries; and therefore the Princess Royal hath resolved to send Mr. *H. Seymour* expressly to the Queen, to desire her to hasten the Duke of *York's* return for *France*.



I hear

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I hear Lord *Taaffe* and some others are persuaded, that the Duke of *Lorraine* will not be uneasily induced to lend the Duke of *York* some money to supply his occasions: but I much doubt it, and believe, that if the Duke of *York* endeavour it, he may peradventure so injealouse the French, as they may fall from what they have offered to do for him. I hear from *France*, that the Queen Regent and Queen of *England* have sent to Prince *Rupert* to leave his fleet under the command of Prince *Maurice*, and himself to come to *Paris*, where he shall have an employment of importance: but some are of opinion, that he will not quit his fleet upon such uncertainties. There is a person of honour and good abilities, that having not long since discoursed with the Duke of *Lorraine* about the business in agitation between that Duke and Lord *Taaffe*, saith, that he finds no grounds to believe any real intentions on that Duke's part. I could wish you would be pleased to persuade the Queen to hasten the sending for the Duke of *York*, or that if it shall be longer deferred, that your Excellency would advise what he were best to do; for this is no place fit for him, and will be much more inconvenient and dangerous, if the King shall be unprosperous in *Scotland*. Duke *Hamilton* by his creatures here labours to make an entire friendship with Prince *Rupert* (whom he hates above all men;) and I am told Prince *Rupert* hath expressed a great desire to embrace that Duke's friendship.

We hear by several letters from *England*, that shortly after *Titus's* papers were brought to the council of state, divers Presbyterians as well as Cavaliers in the West were imprisoned, and fifteen Presbyterian Ministers; which is said to be done upon a list of names which Mr. Secretary *Hollis* gave to *Titus*. The same letters affirm, that some of the King's forces have burnt many of *Cromwell's*

A.D. 1651 reeks of hay; and that the rebels, after they had taken two isles at *Scilly*, assaulted the chief isle and castle called *St. Mary's*, but were repulsed with very great loss; which news I hope will be confirmed to you by some other hands by the time this comes to you.

I know not what to think of it, that in all this time there hath not come any letter from Mr. *Fanshaw*: but surely he is so diligent a person, as this long silence could not be but upon some extraordinary occasion. I beseech your Excellency to pardon my tedious and hasty lines, and to preserve in your esteem,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, May 11, 1651.

FRA. JOHNSON.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

I FIND by yours of the 17th of this month, newly received, that it will be for the most part lost pains to me, and to you a fruitless repetition to write any thing to you from *Paris*, whence you receive as constant and almost as quick intelligence as I. Lord *Fermyn*, in his way to *Jersey*, visited my wife and me here. His business thither is avowedly to make money, as he says, of something belonging to himself; which he hopes to effect, and be back again here in three weeks; then soon after to be gone for *Scotland*. I wonder that I have not heard from Lord *Inchiquin* himself of what you writ to me; wherein I am concerned. I fear he hath found out some, at least negligent persons, by whom he sends his letters; for all his have usually come to me a fortnight later than any others. I do not find that the Duke of *York's* pension was so
certainly

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certainly settled when Lord *Jermyn* left *Paris*, as *A.D. 1651* that the Queen had sent for his Highness; so that for all the *French* flourish, it is possible the intelligence you received from *Paris* may prove grounded upon reason. Some have wished, that his Royal Highness had come away upon the first notice that a pension was concluded upon for him, without any farther invitation or order: but perhaps such are not acquainted with what our Queen writ to his Highness, or with his condition. Some ships come into *Rochelle* out of *Kerry* and other western parts of *Munster* say, our friends there are in a good condition, and the English rebels in great distress for want of men and provisions, and by the continuance of the plague amongst them. But till I receive letters thence (which I have not since I came) I know not what to believe. I sent you the last week what I heard of *Scilly*: we have since heard nothing thence. I remain, &c.

Caen, 25 May, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Hyde.

S I R,

IF I had had seasonable notice of your being at *Paris*, and that you intended to stay there so long as you did, I should certainly have advanced the journey (I think) I shall shortly make thither, to have had the content I promise my self in your conversation, having received so much satisfaction and obligation in your letters to my self and others, to whom you have been pleased to make mention of me, as gives me great impatience personally to know and make my acknowledgments to you. Besides, being come from the place where I have had

A.D. 1651 an unsuccessful employment, I do not know any man capable (for the present) of requiring and receiving the account I am able to give of my self, to whom I should rather wish to give it than to you. For though your great judgment in finding the errors I may have committed, might make me desire a less discerning examiner, yet I should secure my self in your justice, that will never condemn a man purely chosen and commanded to a work, for want of ability to accomplish it, if he hath faithfully and industriously employed all the faculties God gave him towards it: and that, and that only, is the defence I shall rest upon; though I shall not wave the making use of some (as I think) unavoidable accidents, that may in part justify even the probability of the counsels I followed, beyond any other that were or could be offered. This is the trouble rather than entertainment I had given you in relation to what is past. You had not scaped some impertinencies from me upon what is in present action and future expectation; from which though you are for the present delivered, yet you are like to be pursued with as many importunities of this nature, as I can light upon any reasonable pretences of giving them, who am,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Caen, 29 May, 1651.

ORMONDE.

Sir John Berkeley in his way to Jersey saw me, and told me, that if he mistook you not, you said to him, you had written or would write to me. If you have, your letter hath met with some unusual stop.

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AD. 1651

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Digby.

My Lord,

LORD Taaffe in his negotiation with the Duke of Lorrain, finds, that one of the greatest difficulties apprehended is the want of a sea-port, from whence to embark the troops he proposes to send; the King of Spain, by reason of his league with the English rebels, refusing it, and there being little expectation that the Hollanders will admit it out of any place under their obedience, his Lordship therefore desires me to propose it to the French, who are not in league with the rebels, and who have ports more convenient for that purpose than any in the Low-countries. When he first moved it to me, I held it very unlikely, that in the unsettled condition of affairs here, permission would be given to stranger and enemy-troops to march through the country upon any pretence. I am in the same diffidence still; but because he repeats the matter to me by a letter this day received, with an offer that the troops shall march unarmed, in such number and in such manner as shall be prescribed; I conceive it proper for me by your Lordship to propose it to the Queen, that I be not chargeable with any failure on my part towards the procuring of that assistance to my friends and diversion to the rebels; which if it could be readily obtained, I should conceive well worth any remoter hazard that might be suspected from giving foreigners footing in Ireland. What her Majesty shall think fit to do, or not to do in this, be pleased to let my Lord Taaffe know, as also,

My Lord, &c.

Carr, May 29, 1651.

ORMONDE.

A.D. 1651

*The M. of Ormonde to the Queen.**Madam,*

MY belief that your wisdom and goodness could not admit the least separation of yours from the interest of the crown of *England*, gave me the first resolution of serving it with all the obedience and respect due from me to your Majesty's condition. But when I had obtained the honour to be more particularly known to you, and at a nearer distance to observe your composure in your sufferings, your industry in what concerned the cause wherein you suffered, and to receive many favours from you, I resolved to act the part assigned to me with a resigned reverence to your person and commands, and with an humble and grateful affection for the esteem your Majesty gave me leave to believe you had for me.

This resolution I have pursued so attentively, that I did not believe it would ever be necessary for me this way to vindicate my self, or any action of mine, from the possibility of a contrary construction. But by what I have lately understood of the proceedings of Lord *Taaffe* and Lord *Inchiquin* in a business (in which your Majesty had title to a more early and essential part than it seems hath been given you) I find that, how careful soever I have been and shall ever be, yet I may happen to become liable to a suspicion of what I am most industrious to avoid, by the inadvertence of others, and be forced for my own justification to discover more of their precipitation, than otherwise I should wish to do. I shall, as briefly as I can, acquaint your Majesty with all I had to do in that business.

Lord *Taaffe*, in a letter of his to me of last *Febr*, 24. told me, that after he had prevailed with the

Duke

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Duke of Lorrain to send some supplies into Ireland, and an agent to treat upon the conditions of sending more; he thought fit to try whether that Duke had any inclinations to marry his Daughter to the Duke of York; that he found he listened to it very readily, and said, that if the Duke of York sought it, and the King consented to it, and to the necessary conditions for his Highness's wife and posterity, he would give him his daughter, and as much money as would enable him to recover Ireland. He further told me, that Lord Inchiquin undertook to acquaint the Duke of York with this, and to advertise his Lordship what his inclinations were. From me Lord Taaffe only desired, that I would conceal what he had written to me, and that I would give him my advice. In my answer to him, which was on March 13. I told him that I had nothing to advise in the matter, the fitness of making the overture being past consideration, and the business being placed where it could not want those deliberations requisite in a matter of such importance. Only out of my friendship I did advise him, that if any thing were farther done in it, he should lose no time in freely acquainting your Majesty with his part in it, and with the motives inducing him to it; which, I said, would come better from himself than any other that might inform your Majesty of it. And as to concealing what he had imparted to me, though I did not engage my self to it, because I would be at liberty if he followed not my advice in acquainting your Majesty with it, to follow my own purpose of doing it; yet I ventured so far upon his judgment as not to anticipate a becoming duty on his part, by so speedy a performance of mine as might look like an officious prejudice to him. In this silence towards your Majesty I continued, for that Lord Taaffe, in the next letter I received from him of March 24. told me, that according to my advice

AD. 1651 advice he would acquaint your Majesty with the business by the next post: which I since hear he hath not only done, but also informed you that he had given me notice of it long before; implying, that thereby he had discharged himself towards your Majesty, not remembering that he had both enjoined me secrecy, and acknowledged that by my advice he was determined to write of it to your Majesty.

By this your Majesty may be pleased to collect, that my desire to give my Lord *Taafe* leisure to redeem his mistake, in making such an overture unknown to your Majesty, by being himself the first informer of it, is all I have to ask pardon for in this particular. And that I may not be put to give your Majesty the trouble of more apologies in this business, give me leave to inform you, that I understand by late letters out of *Holland*, that Lord *Inchiquin* had, or intended to write to his Majesty to send me power to treat about this match: which if he have done, it is so absolutely without any desire of mine, that it is clearly without my knowledge. This your Majesty will easily believe, if you please to allow me so much wit, as to see how unqualified with language, and every way improper I am for such a negotiation. It may seem no small arrogance in me, whilst I am clearing my self, to offer at excusing others: yet I beg your Majesty's leave to say, that I am most confident that however my Lord *Taafe* or Lord *Inchiquin* may have failed in outward demonstrations, their purposes are most affectionate and cordial to the King's service, and dutiful to your Majesty: yet I had rather your Majesty should impute this tedious disagreeable diversion to them, than to

Your Majesty's, &c.

Caen, May 29, 1651.

ORMONDE,
Sir,

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

THE D. of York hath now dispatched Mr. Sey-^{A.D. 1651}
mour to the Queen, desiring her to hasten his
being invited into France, or to advise what he shall
do, and whither he shall remove, for that his resi-
ding longer in these parts will be both dishonourable
and unsafe for him. I have delivered Mr. Seymour
a copy of some of the propositions made by Mr. St.
John and his Colleague; wherein it is expressly infi-
sted on, that if those in England shall at any time
declare any person an enemy to that pretended
Commonwealth, these States shall not permit any
such to inhabit these countries, but after 15 days
notice shall confiscate all he hath and imprison his
person, if he shall not be gone. These demands
may perhaps be printed in the French Gazette, for
so I have desired, that all the world may see the
insolency and wickedness of the rebels in England.
The D. of York hath spoken to Sir E. Nicholas to
attend him into France; but unless the Queen will
encourage him so to do, Sir E. Nicholas hath desired
to be excused; but if her Majesty shall send to
him to come with the D. of York, he knows not
how to decline it, though he is well assured that she
is much unsatisfied with him, and that he hath little
cause to be pleased with the language she hath used
of him. Lord Inchiquin is now here, and I pre-
sume will write to your Excellency by this post.

The things called Ambassadors from England
went from hence to Amsterdam on Monday last at
four in the morning, with all their train and much
baggage; which occasioned various discourses here;
it's believed they are gone thither to advise with
those of that town, at their best affected friends,
how

A.D. 1651 how to draw the rest of the United Provinces to join with those of *Holland* in the desired league with the rebels of *England*; which some of the Provinces violently oppose; but it's believed if the King shall not be prosperous in *Scotland*, all will in a little time consent unto, and then will they be assuredly rendered greater slaves to *England* than they ever thought themselves to be to *Spain*.

I hear from *Paris*, that Lord *Fernyn* hath sold all his furniture and goods at *Paris*, and his creatures there give forth, that as soon as he returns from *Jersey*, he will go for *Scotland*: which I believe to be an artifice used to gain belief in those of *Jersey*, (where he hath taken order that report shall be published) that the money which he would raise by the sale of the King's lands there is to be for the King. There are no letters nor any Express from *Scotland*. We have no reports here from thence, but what ships and passengers bring, which is all good, but so various as I can give no great credit to what is said. Some lately come from *England* exclaim extremely against the treacherous discoveries every day made by Mr. *Coke*, who they say was for some years still a spy on the King's actions. By his peachment the Lord *Astley* and about 40 Gentlemen of *Kent* are lately imprisoned, as it's here said. It's believed here, that the rebels ships sent against *Scilly* are returned back for *England*, their forces having been repulsed from *St. Mary* island there. P. *Rupert* is for certain put to sea with six sail of good ships *bien équipé*. We here conceive that without the help of a port in *France*, the D. of *Lorraine* will not be able to send any considerable assistance for *Ireland*, and I doubt this Duke will be too hard for Lord *Taaffe* in the Treaty. Your Excellency will hear from Mr. *H. Seymour*, as soon as he arrives at *Paris*, all his negotiation there with the Queen. The business which hath long depend-
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ed in suit between the Princess-Royal and her ^{A.D. 1651} unkind mother-in-law the Princess-Dowager concerning the managing of the estate of the young Prince of *Orange*, was yesterday determined for the Princess-Royal in as full and honourable a manner as could be desired, and more power is by the sentence given to her Royal Highness than she desired.

After I had written thus far, Mr. *Pooley* arrived here from his Majesty, being sent (as I hear) expressly to congratulate the P. of *Conde's* liberty. The King hath commanded Mr. *Fanshawe* to attend him to help dispatch business, having none about him else that he can trust, or that honest men will confide in. I have herein sent you a copy of Mr. *Fanshawe's* letter to me. Neither the King, nor Mr. *Fanshawe* write any thing at all to me concerning my waiting on the D. of *Tork* into *France*; so that I conceive it not to be the King's intention that I should go thither, since he cannot but know how very unacceptable I am to the Queen. A discreet and a very honest Person with the King, writes to me in a postscript of his letter dated *May 6*, at *Pertb*, that *Cromwell* was then with his whole army marched beyond *Edinburgh* southward; and that it was believed he would go for *England*, his men being very mutinous. I perceive those with the King fear nothing so much as some treachery amongst the Scots. The feud between the two great Lords (*Hamilton* and *Argyle*) is still as high as ever. I wish they and all others with them, that will not heartily unite against such horrid rebels, were beyond the furthest *Indies*. It's written to me that the D. of *Buckingham* is wholly the M. of *Argyle's*; for which I am very sorry. All letters affirm that the King is very intelligent, industrious and active in all his affairs, as well in the Council as in the Camp; and but too forward on all occasions to hazard his Person against the rebels. I have herein sent you

A.D. 1651 you some letters for the M. of *Glanricarde*, which I received in a great packet from Mr. *Fanshaw*, wrap'd up in the paper I send with them, having no word of directions what to do with them, but what is written in that paper. I should not have given you the trouble of those letters, but that there was in the same paper, one letter from the King to your Lordship, which I also send with the same.

It's told us by Mr. *Peasley*, that the King's army is encamped on the south side of the river of *Sterling*; but there hath been no fight at all between his Majesty's forces and the rebels; but only some little skirmishes not considerable, notwithstanding the many false reports spread here, that the King had fallen on *Cromwell's* rear and killed divers of his men. It's affirmed that some of *Cromwell's* soldiers come daily in to the King; but there is no confiding in them. Capt. *Titus* is still in these parts, and for ought I hear, makes no great haste to return for *Scotland*. I beseech your Excellency to pardon this tedious letter, proceeding out of a desire fully to acquaint you with what of consideration is come to the knowledge of, &c.

Elague, May 21, 1651.

ROB. JOHNSON.

Mr. Fanshaw's Letter inclosed.

St. Johnston's, May 5, 1651.

AFTER long pressing for, and expectation of my dispatch, his Majesty hath at length thought fit to command my residing about him; which I assure you I never thought, and until it was determined did heartily wish the contrary; but being commanded could neither in duty to his Majesty at such a time as this, nor in regard of a possibility

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lity it may afford me to do some honest men honest *A.D. 1651*
offices, could in conscience decline it: we are not so
merry here as the persons your letters name in *Pa-*
ris, yet despair not neither: for his Majesty will
within a few days have an army of above twenty
thousand likely men; most of them being already
with him at *Sterling*, where the General Officers
are now immediately to be chosen; the worst of the
case is, that there appear high animosities between
two great leading men in the kingdom, which (if not
reconciled) may produce very ill effects. Then the
best is (from whom principally we hope a cure of
the other) that his Majesty's judgment and activity,
both in civil and martial affairs, are to a degree you
would not imagine in so few months growth, as he hath
trod this stage, being the first and forwardest upon
every occasion in either kind; and adventuring his
Person (I pray God not too much) upon every shew
of danger, riding continually, and being up early
and late: with which nevertheless his health is not
abated, but on the contrary (as I suppose) both
that and his Majesty's strength increased; if it shall
please God not to permit him to be crushed in his
beginnings, the world will undoubtedly see, and
posterity will read a great person: otherwise his
virtue will rest as a great foundation scarcely raised
above the ground, and as a secret amongst a few;
but I trust Divine Providence will avert that from
him and us. I am immediately for *Sterling* which
cuts me off: there I will write more fully to you,
which if it overtakes not this opportunity shall fol-
low by the next.

The

*The M. of Ormonde to Lord Taaffe.**My Lord,*

A.D. 1651

I AM very glad Lord *Inchiquin* hath procured the justification you mention from Sir *Lewis Dyves*, and that the business is taken up so much to his Lordship's advantage. As soon as I received yours of the 20th of the last month, I sent to Lord *Digby*, to propose the obtaining of license for the D. of *Lorrain's* troops to march through and embark in *France* to our Queen; by whose command, if she undertake the thing, I suppose Lord *Digby* will offer it to the French with those reasonable restrictions for their security mentioned by your Lordship. I have desired him to write directly from *Paris*, to let you know what could be done in the business. My fear is, that he is, or will be gone into the field before that overture can be brought to a conclusion; and then in Lord *Fermyn's* absence, I know not who the Queen can employ in it; however this is all I could do in the matter; I suppose it is the King of *Spain's* entering into league with the English rebels, that makes him refuse the permission of his ports to the D. of *Lorrain* for the support of *Ireland*: yet it will remain a question still, whether the most Catholick King should in any Treaty have bound his own hands from preventing the extirpation of a Catholick Nation and the Catholick Religion out of a kingdom. But the thing is done, and will be justified, I doubt not, by whole Universities: in the mean time my proposition is only in way of divertisement. The Bishop of *Ferns* has left a learned discourse at *Paris* written in Latin; wherein he would seem to give a true relation of the condition of *Ireland* when he came thence: but he begins with his narration from the beginning of the

the wars there, that he might have occasion to vindicate the proceedings of the Clergy, and to asperse all that went not along with them. If he were a man of the short robe, your Lordship should have such another employment, as you had to Sir *Lewis Dyves*.

I find the Queen was not so well satisfied, that the Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain* was so far proceeded in before she had notice of it, and that she was not free of some jealousy of me; it appearing to her by a letter from you, that you had two months before you writ to her, given me a full account of the business, implying that I was at liberty to inform her of it; whereas in your first letter mentioning it to me, you enjoined me secrecy; from which to this day you have not freed me. In my letter which answered yours, you may remember I advised you to lose no time in freely acquainting her with your part in the business and the inducements moving you to it, which I said would come best from yourself: so that to observe your directions, and out of my desire to keep you clear with her Majesty, I was in danger of falling into her displeasure; which to avoid I have been constrained to give her a relation (much to this effect) of what I had to do in this business; whereof I hold it necessary and suitable to my friendship to you to inform you, that upon any further stirring of the matter, we may be found to agree in what we may have occasion to say. Presuming that if Lord *Inchiquin* be not with you, yet you know how to send to him, I enclose mine, and some other letters to him with yours, and remain, &c.

Cam, June 1, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

A.D. 1651

I Believe the rebels Ministers there will have no conclusive answer to their insolent proposition, till the success of his Majesty's arms appear, by which they, (I mean the Hollanders) will certainly be entirely governed, and by nothing of honour or gratitude, which are things now wholly lost in all nations, and converted into sordid baseness under the notion of reason of state. In the mean time the Duke of York's condition affects me with infinite sadness. To stay where he is, subject to those anxieties, which the reception of those rogues and the affronts put upon him in their favour must give him, is doubtless very unsupportable. To come into *France* without invitation or provision made for him, and (for ought I know) contrary to the Queen's pleasure, is that I cannot advise: and what third course there is remaining appears not to me. But if there should appear really danger in his stay there, to his person, and that no other retreat is in view but *France*, I should not fear to advise his coming thither, where he has so much interest in blood as may, well, considered with the danger he is in there, make his excuse; and if he must suffer by want or otherwise, I conceive he should choose to do it in the arms of those that have the greatest obligation to support and protect him. This is all I can, and perhaps more than I should say, having not the warrant of being called to say any thing upon the subject. But my zeal to his Highness's honour and safety, together with what your last mentioned of his condition, produces it from me, and that without disguise. You are at liberty to make what use you think fit of it. We expect Lord Jer-

myn

my in his return to *Paris* here very shortly. Till *4.D.1651* he or his company get thither, I expect no news from thence; for there is not any body left to write to me, that is acquainted with the affairs of that place. I remain, &c.

Cain, June 8, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the Lord Inchiquin.

My Lord,

YOUR last letter takes notice of her Majesty's being misinformed, as well in the general carriage of the business moved betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Lorrain*, as with your particular part in it. For what stuck with her towards the Duke of *York*, *Harry Seymour* assures me that and all other unkindnesses are removed, and that she is prepared to receive him with much kindness. That which she was unsatisfied with you for was, your undertaking to propose the business to his Royal Highness without her knowledge, as I find by discourse when Lord *Fermyn* was here: at which time I was told, her Majesty had taken notice of it in a letter to you, and that made me forbear writing to you of it then. By what I then heard of a letter written by Lord *Taaffe* in his own excuse, I judged it necessary for me to make an excuse for myself; for in that letter he informed her, that he had two months afore imparted that affair to me, which was true indeed; but it was no less true, that he enjoined me secrecy, and that out of my friendship to him I forbore to make it known to her, being well assured, that if she came to know of it by any means but his, she would have been much displeased with him. In her answer to my letter of excuse, there are expressions

A.D. 1651 fions that shew the continuance of her displeasure against Lord *Taaffe*, and her being little more satisfied with the excuse he hath offered at, than at the thing he would excuse. To you she imputes the fault of undertaking the business; but whether for my information, or to manifest that she is still unsatisfied with you, I know not. In the letter I sent her upon this occasion, I said as much in your defence and also in Lord *Taaffe's*, as I thought could suit with the business of such a letter; for though his Lordship was wanting to me in point of memory and circumspection, I did not suspect him of malice. I shall at my coming to *Paris* (which I propose shall be about the beginning of the next week) discover whether any thing remains with her Majesty to your prejudice, and shall not only endeavour to remove it according to my uttermost skill and power, but advertise you how I find her inclined, with the freedom due from me to you.

His Royal Highness by *H. Seymour* sent me a kind invitation to see him at *Paris*; which draws me thither very ill equipped, and without possibility, at least yet appearing to me, of staying long there; but whilst I do, I shall as near as I can observe your advice. I have put the business of the frigate into Lord *Digby's* hands; but when I come to *Paris*, I shall drive it to a conclusion one way or other. Your letters leave me in doubt still, whether mine will find you on the Continent or not. If some of mine lately written have overtaken you, I hope you have resolved to hear once more out of *Scotland* before you stir, and that you will make more than ordinary provision for your secure transportation. I rest, &c.

Carr, June 15, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

I HAVE your letters of *May 31* and *June 7, A.D. 1651*
I would very fain believe a great part of the news in the latter end of that of the 7th; but the copy of a letter you sent me with it of *May 6*, from *St. Johnston's*, though it be chearful in other things, yet gives a great allay to my hopes of the truth of the defeat. For I know not how to reconcile the rebels being southward of *Edinburb*, with their being beaten at *Lisbgow*, which is northward of it: but if it be not story, I hope it is prophecy. I am heartily sorry, I shall not have the satisfaction of seeing you when I attend the Duke of *York* at *Paris*, which for a few days I shall do: but it is no place of abiding for me in the condition I am in. I find by Mr. *Seymour* that her Majesty is prepared to receive his Royal Highness with great kindness, and I hope the French Court will do as much, though it continue in great want and some apprehension of disorder. When I come thither, I shall give you a large and free account of the observations of, &c.

Caen, June 15, 1651.

ORMONDE.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I HAD the honour the last week to receive together both your letters of 18 and 25 *May*, and shall not fail to continue the trouble of mine to your Lordship, so long as I shall be in any place,
C 3 where

A.D. 1651 where I may have any thing worthy your notice. The Duke of York having the last week, (after Mr. H. Seymour's departure) received the Queen his Mother's directions to return for France, is preparing for that journey, and in order to it goes within these two days to Breda, where he intends to stay but two or three days, till his servants horses and baggage shall be ready; and then to hasten for France in the beginning of the next week. I intend to wait on his Royal Highness to Breda, but not farther, having had no order from the Queen, and understanding by several ways, that I am very unacceptable to her Majesty. I am resolved to retire to some private place, being exhausted even to the last of my poor fortune, by my chargeable and useles attendance these two years. I believe Lord Hopton, my Lord Ambassador Hyde, and myself may agree to reside together in some retirement at or about Wesel, whereof I shall give your Excellency notice, as soon as I shall be fixed.

It's very visible to me, that whilst those of the Louvre shall have the sole management of all his Majesty's affairs (as they boast they have) that not only the true Royalists, but even those who were most confided in by the late most glorious King our master will be rejected and despised. I have herein sent your Lordship the extract of some letters which I have received from several good hands, that you may see what others of better and nearer observation say of the ways and persons of those at the Louvre, to whom none are so dear as those who were in some kind or other branded by the last King. The copy inclosed of a letter from St. Johnston's will tell you as much as I yet know of the intrigues in Scotland, where doubtless Argyle's faction is much the more potent at present; else you may be sure those at the Louvre would not be so much for him. The land the Lord Fermyn is gone to sell in Jersey is the King's,

King's, and part of that which is for the maintenance of the garrisons and government there, wherein his Lordship hath an estate for three lives, which is all the interest he hath in *Jersey*. But I have it from good hands, that his Lordship is in treaty for sale of that his government to Prince *Rupert*; which is sent me as a great secret: and it is not improbable he may put it off after he shall have sold part of the land belonging to it. But if I have truth from *Jersey*, his Lordship will have no good market there for any of those lands. I believe whatsoever he may have said otherwise to your Excellency, when he comes to *Jersey*, he will pretend that the money he raises by sale thereof is to be for the King.

By passengers newly come from *Scotland*, and by several letters sent to the things here called Ambassadors from *England*, it's advertised, that the King on this day fortnight fell on the rear of *Cromwell's* army as it marched from *Lisbrow*, and cut off two regiments of foot, some say killed 5 or 6000 of the rebels, and that 3 regiments of the rebels are come in to the King; and that *Cromwell* and the rest of his foot are marched southward of *Berwick*. We have this news from so many several ways, as we are confident the greatest part of it is true. By a letter come to the Admiralty here, from sea, it is advertised, that the English rebels have quitted *Scilly* with great loss, and that Sir *John Grenville* hath re-possessed the isles the rebels had there taken. I shall on Friday wait on the Duke to *Breda*, where peradventure I may not have the opportunity to write to your Lordship by the next post: but I shall always remain, &c.

Hague, June 7, 1651, N.S.

GIL, RICHARDSON.

EXTRACTS inclosed.

Paris, May, 27, 1651. N. S.

A.D. 1651

I CAN assure you, that a Bishop being sent from the Clergy of *France* to our Queen, to let her Majesty know, that they could not in conscience allow her any thing, wherewith to maintain a family of Protestants: her Majesty's answer was, that she could not upon a sudden dismiss all her servants, but that by degrees and in convenient time it would be effected; and this was divulged throughout the house.

I take those persons, that abet *Cboqueu* to do ill offices between Prince *Rupert* and the Marquess of *Ormonde*, to be Sir *Fermyn* and others of the same cabal; for that he is a great servant to that Lord, and makes him privy to all his negotiations.

The Duke of *Lorraine* hath sent Commissions to certain persons here to raise some horse in this kingdom for *Ireland*; but by what I hear, they are like to take little effect.

Extract from Paris, the 17 of May 1651.

I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.

THE two Queens apprehending the danger the King is in, (as I am told by a good hand) upon several respects have thought fit to send for the Duke of *Fork* by no act of State here, nor joint consent of powerful parties, but merely upon the Queen Regent's promises of a small pension not settled upon any fund nor will ever be, when the French are seized of his person, and thereby have

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

have a bait for the English to balance them against the Spanish temptations.

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A.D. 1651

Letter from Perch, May 6, 1651.

OUR business here goes on pretty well, but slower than I expected. We shall not be able to draw absolutely into the field this month, for want of provisions for our horse; our foot are all marched up, and are to be divided into three camps to secure the river, one at *Brunst Island*, the other near *Sterling*, and the third at the Fords which are above *Sterling*: our army will be in all 15 thousand foot, as good men to look on as any are in the world, and five thousand horse which will be our blind side, for they are most of them poor and weak, yet I believe we can make two thousand as good as any the enemy hath: this I believe is a just account of our Strength; and it is enough if we manage it, as well like loyal subjects, as good soldiers. The enemy lies close at *Glasco*; his design is to eat up all the provisions in the West, for fear we should have taken the advantage of it, his men come daily into us, and tell us of strange numbers that will come to us, as soon as we march on the other side of the river; they are so far from being obedient to their officers, that they will do but what they list, nor dare they displease them: Not long since (wanting provisions) they came and took the meat from *Cromwell's* own table; which they say was the cause of his late great distemper; since that, they would have sent some of their horse by boat to have landed upon us in *Fife*; but they absolutely refused it; so that they were forced to content themselves with giving us an alarm only, which they did to some purpose; for one morning early they came with eighty sail of little and great, and

A.D. 1651 and bore up directly to a little town in *Fife* called *Kercaudy*, where they discharged many of their canon, which did no greater harm, than striking a poor woman's buttock off: the King was upon the place himself with force enough (with God's assistance) to have repulsed them if they had offered to land; which when we expected, they fairly retreated to the place from whence they came, having nothing in them but seamen; in the mean while *Cromwell* with his whole army marched into the West, where I believe he will lie till we rouse him, not daring to attempt us, we are now so strong: I cannot but hope, and be almost confident, we shall do well, unless God hath decreed us for further destruction, which I hope he hath not, for in earnest (and you may believe me whatever I say of this place and people) we have a brave army and well officered, God make them but honest. I would not doubt for any thing, were it not for the incurable feud and faction of the Hamiltonians, and the Argyliaus, who are at this time at greater variance than ever. *Hamilton's* friends endeavoured all they could at the last sitting of the Parliament, to have brought him with the rest of the engagers to sit in Parliament again, but it could not be done; so that to please them for the present, they erected a Committee of war, which is to take care of provisions and other necessaries for the army, of which he and many more of his faction are; *Argyle*, *Lothian*, the Chancellor *Lendon*, and *Cassillis*, are all likewise of it; but they have declined the sitting in it, and have never once come there, since the erection of it. *Argyle's* friends (of which number the Duke of *Buckingham* is a fast one) have endeavoured all they can, since *Hamilton's* coming in, to make the King sensible of the obligations he hath to *Argyle*, how that he oweth his being on this ground to him, and that he alone hath

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hath put him in this condition, and, how ungrateful a thing it would be, if after all this he should quit him for *Hamilton*; of which the King is very sensible, and hath given him all the assurances that can be to the contrary; though wisely he appears as little as he can in either faction, and certainly hath providence enough to stick closest to him, who hath most power to serve him; which certainly *Argyle* now hath in a treble proportion. The Church now courts him more than ever he did them; nor are there any people in *Scotland* with so much violence for him and his advantage, as they generally are; if he can but keep them firm to him, he need not fear his want of power here. The Commissioners of the Church have lately wrote two letters to the Lords of the Committee of Estates, that were ordained, but refuse to sit in this new Committee of war: the first letter was a gentle exhortation to an agreement and unanimity, which they smothered and gave no answer to; which procured the second, which was very sharp and high against them; which hath forced them to appoint a meeting at *Sterling*, with some of the Commissioners of the Kirk, where they are to receive some satisfaction concerning certain scruples of conscience which it seems they pretend; it seems they took an oath after the engagement never to sit in publick employment with those persons; which is the thing they stick upon most, and which the Kirk offers to absolve them from. I am confident this meeting will procure at least an outward conjunction and amity between these two great factions. The Committee of war have put the Church upon this, and the other dare not refuse it, since they have so highly taken notice of it. This will procure a greater benefit to the King than the present conjunction of them at this time; for the next thing I hope to send you word of, will be the taking away
of

A.D. 1651 of all the classes which the Church were already for, and think it not only fit and a Christian like action but sinful not to do it. This makes a general union of the whole Kingdom, and all as well Montrossians as engagers after this are admitted to their places and votes in Parliament: but this must be done by the Parliament, which fits the 17th of May. When this is done, I dare pronounce the King as much King of *Scotland*, (were it not for the enemy that is in it) as ever his father once was of *England*.

We have lately hanged a spy at *Sterling*, one *Hamilton* by name, who for five pounds a week has done us no little mischief; this man betrayed Sir *Philip Musgrave*, who narrowly escaped from them, by running up to the middle in the sea to a boat in which he was transported to the *Isle of Man*; but my Lord of *Derby's* Agent here was taken with letters and commissions; which I presume you have heard of, for they are in print. Some whom they concerned are safe arrived in the *Isle of Man*, and others are out of the way; so that I hope it will not produce so much mischief as was generally feared. My Lord of *Derby* hath been very active, and laid as good a design in those parts where his interest lies, as any is in *England*. This late treachery hath shaken it much, but I hope not quite dissolved it; this *Hamilton* also betrayed my Lord *Eglington*, who going to his own house with his eldest and second Son *James Montgomery*, was taken with his son *James*, and carried first to *Edinburgh*, and since into *England*; his eldest son my Lord *Montgomery* escaped out of a window: this *Hamilton* upon his first examination gave in a paper to the Committee of Estates, wherein he accused *Argyle* and many more for setting him on upon that employment. By this means he hoped to have set them together by the ears, and to have escaped him-

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himself: but this failing, at his death he unsaid it all again. Here are two more spies taken since, the one is a baily of *Edinburgh*, the other an under servant of the King's, his name is *John George* an Englishman, one whom I know not, who they say will discover great matters; I hope now we have discovered some, they will discover more: and since we have begun to hang, I hope to see all rogues receive their reward.

Mr. *Blagge* with the Lord *Bard* are arrived here. Col. *Leighton*, (whom I am confident you have heard of) keeps no more the signet, but hath got a warrant to be one of the Clerks of the Counsel in *England*, and for the present contents himself with the honour of being the Duke of *Buckingham's* chief and only Councillor: *Graves* now is the only bedchamber man, and the King is made ready and unready by none but him, who carries the marks of treason and rebellion in his face; a sad spectacle to all honest men that have laboured through so many wants and miseries to express their loyalty to their King and Master.

P. S. Cromwell is at this present with his whole army marched beyond *Edinburgh* Southward; and it is believed will go for *England*.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

I Perceive by your Lordship's of the first present, that you failed that post of my letters; which I much marvel at, having not forbore to give you the trouble of them by every post, and sent them constantly to Mr. *Samborne* by the way of *Rouen*, which I found to be the speediest and surest, unless sometimes Mr. *Samborne's* partner happen to be absent.

A.D. 1651 absent. I hope that and all my other letters are before this come to your hands.

I am come hither by the Duke of York's command, and shall wait on him to *Antwerp*; but shall not give the Queen so much dissatisfaction as to attend him into *France*, having not only received from her Majesty no directions, much less encouragement, to wait on his Highness thither, but being now perfectly assured that I still lye under her displeasure, for having done nothing but what I did and do still conceive to be agreeable to the duty of an honest man, and what I must do again and again, as oft as I have the like occasion and tie upon me. I shall therefore now meditate where to fix my station, till the King shall think fit to make use of my service, reserving myself ready to obey his commands, and to come into *France* or any other part where he shall appoint. For if the King shall be pleased to make use of any of his Council that are in these parts, I shall easily come along with them, whithersoever he shall appoint. But if his Majesty continue his purpose to have his affairs managed solely by the *Louvre* Councils, I believe the Queen will not much desire to have present at them many of those who go on the principles your Lordship and your servant do.

There lately passed through *Delf* Sir Nicholas Pluncket, Sir James Preston, Mr. Browne, and others, sent (as I hear) Commissioners from the Catholick Clergy in *Ireland* to the Duke of Lorrain, though they went within three miles of the *Hague*, yet none of them came to see the Duke of York, whereof I am glad; for indeed I am of opinion, his Highness ought not to admit them into his presence, if (as I hear) they are come without any authority from your Excellency's Deputy in *Ireland*. I am told, they come to treat with the Duke of *Lorrain* about putting into his hands

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Galway and Limerick, and further matters, where by I am sure they are traytors, if they have not for their employment powers derived from the King's authority. We have here advised the Duke of York not to permit any of them to kiss his hand, nor to speak with him, if, as he passes by *Drumilly*, they shall address themselves to him for that purpose.

I believe I may stay a week or ten days at *Antwerp* with my Lord Embassador *Hobart*, and when I shall have advised with him, I shall consider where to fix my station, and whilst I shall be in any place, where I may receive any advertisements worthy your knowledge, I shall diligently express the same affection I have to serve your Lordship in quality of,

My Lord, &c.

Breda, June 14,
1651.

WILL. WILSON.

Daniel O'Neill to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

BY an express his Majesty sends for *Holland*, I intend to give you an account of what hath been acted here since my coming, and I shall only by this assure your Excellency, that his Majesty will in a very few days march with a much more numerous army than *Cromwell's*, and (not for want of duty as affection) altogether at his command. By that express I shall send you a letter from *Duke Hamilton* who makes great professions of his value of your Excellency. His Majesty hath found him a great, an affectionate and an useful subject, and the quite contrary from *Mr. Boyle*, though he be much choy up at the *Dowry*. *Mr. Boyle* will give you an account of the express sent for *Ireland*, and I have moved his Majesty to allow you 1000 *l.* out of what Money *Mr. Gifford* gets in *Palmer*, he with great cheer-

Y.D. 1651 chearfulness told me, he would send by Mr. *Sands* who goes to him to let you have that sum, if he could spare it. How I shall adjust the business, I shall tell you in my next. I believe that his Majesty's next commands will be to come to him: he is much troubled you are not here. Hither is *Wogan* and *Buller* come from *Scilly*, and *Plant* out of *Holland*. We daily expect Lord *Inchiquin*, but I believe that his expectation that he will not overtake us stays him. I am

Your Excellency's, &c.

Sterling, June 20,

1651.

PRINCIPE BARBARO.

Mr. Fanshaw to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Have by letter formerly humbly desired your Excellency's commands to me hither; but hitherto I have not had that honour. However I have groped in the dark as well as I might at all I could imagine conducing to serve you; and now (his Majesty having commanded my stay about his person and at one end of his affairs) I despair not of light for the future from your Excellency's own hand, who (if I were not the servant I am to your servant) may be sure enough of me upon two other grounds which are, that I know I can do nothing in the world wherein I can more either serve or please the King than in obeying your Lordship: and now I have a helper therein in Mr. *O Neile*, and indeed shall have in all honest and gallant men: but he shews himself at every turn passionately your Excellency's. I address herewith to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*'s hands several Commissions whereby his Majesty reposes eminent trusts in your Excellency: but there is a principal part yet wanting, which is money; neither

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is it unthought of by the King, though it will be A.D. 1651
some days before I can give you an account what
his Majesty will have done or be able to do therein.

I hear things go well in *Ireland*, and hope very suddenly to give you an account of 2000 horse, with horses, and 2000 dragoons without horses, 2000 foot and 6000 arms, as also a gallant train of artillery with all appurtenances but horses, carts and carriages; which great supply may possibly be turned to *Ireland* if you desire or advise it. They are proposed to be all German and Swedish Protestants, and almost all Lutherans. I beseech your Excellency to signify by the next your sense upon it. Lord *Taaffe* hath a Commission herewith to sollicite supplies in *Germany*: but the above written is upon another score, and promises very fair for reality.

I beseech your Excellency also to signify, whether you think it fit that Sir *E. Hyde* were Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. It hath been no living soul's motion but my own query within my self, meerly with an eye to his Majesty's service and the constitution of that Kingdom. If your Lordship's judgment carries you to the affirmative upon the same considerations, I will upon your order move and sollicite it; otherwise as it was born, so it dyes.

Dean *King* is sent back to *Ireland* with dispatches, which I believe together with his zeal to his Majesty's service, will very much advance the service: the effect is to let them see the amendment of the King's condition, and that neither that Kingdom in general, nor particularly the active subjects there are out of his care or memory; with which I remain,
&c.

Striveling, June 21, 1651.

RICH. FANSHAW.

VOL. II,

D. Sir



Original Letters and Papers

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

MY last was from *Breda*, wherein I gave you an account of the Duke of *York's* going for *Paris*, where I believe he will be before this, and where your Excellency will (I suppose) hear more particulars touching the errand and negotiations of the Irish Commissioners than I yet know; his Highness having (I hear) copies of their Commission and of some articles touching security for 20000 *l.* which the Duke of *Lorraine* engageth to supply them withal; together with a relation of the state of affairs in *Ireland* from the M. of *Clanricarde*; which relation seems to me to be so far as requires an explanation; as also what those propositions are which the Abbot of *St. Catherine's* made and the M. of *Clanricarde* disliked. I confess, being no better informed than I yet am, I cannot penetrate the designs and intentions of the applications made by those Irish to that Duke, nor the meaning of that Duke's first sending Commissioners into *Ireland*, and now receiving thence such Commissioners (which the Irish call Embassadors,) his Majesty or his Lieutenant of *Ireland* being unconsulted. I doubt not but Lord *Taaffe*, who best knows all the intrigues of that affair, and is newly gone to *Paris*, will clearly and fully acquaint you with all particulars of importance concerning those Commissioners negotiation; wherein he ought not to move without your privity and directions, and I hope your Lordship will set and steer him right in that great business, which seems to me to be of very great importance and consideration. My Lord Embassador *Hyde* hath received from Lord *Inchiquin* copies of the

Commission and Powers given by the Duke of Lor. A.D. 1651
 rain to the Abbot of *St. Catherine* to treat with the
 Papiſts in *Ireland*, which his Lordſhip will ſend
 your Excellency, and thereby you will perceive that
 that Duke hath not in that his negotiation at all
 mentioned the King, or his Lieutenant or Deputy,
 but only the States of *Ireland*, as if there were
 no King of *Ireland*; which proceedings will
 among the beſt men raiſe juſt jealousies. I fear that
Ireland is now in a low condition, and therefore all
 honourable care ſhould be taken to ſupply the King's
 party there: but for ſubjects to call in a Protector
 or to treat with a foreign Prince without the King's
 order or privy is not to be thought on. If your
 Lordſhip can get a ſight of the propoſitions that in
 the M. of *Clanricarde's* relation of the State of *Ire-*
land are ſaid to have been made to him by the Ab-
 bot of *St. Catherine's*, which his Lordſhip in that re-
 lation ſaith he would not meddle with, I believe you
 may better judge of the ſcope of the intentions of
 thoſe that have ſent theſe Commissioners to the
 Duke of *Lorrain*.

I have been here with my Lord Embaſſador *Hyde*
 ever ſince the Duke of *York* went hence, and am
 like to ſtay in this town yet ſome time. I aſſure
 your Excellency, Sir *E. Hyde* is perfectly your ſer-
 vant, and one that holds firm to all our bleſſed Ma-
 ſter's principles. He preſſeth me to ſettle here, and
 albeit I conceive this place to be neither ſo cheap or
 healthful, as ſome others, yet I incline to abide for
 ſome time here, or near it at *Mechlyn*, becauſe per-
 adventure we being together may be of ſome uſe to
 his Maſteſty's ſervice upon occaſion, notwithstanding
 the ill will that is borne me at the *Louvre*: but I am
 not yet fixed in my reſolution what to do, expecting
 ſome further diſpatches from *Scotland* than I have
 had ſince Mr. *Fanſhaw's* arrival there. I have had
 no letters from *England*, *Scotland* or *France* ſince I

A.D. 1651 left the *Hague*, which is now a full fortnight, so as I cannot give you any news, but that it is said here by some lately come from *England*, that certainly *Cromwell* is incapable of governing the rebels army, and some affirm he is mad. God's judgments and his mercies are wonderful: and when we are as ripe for the one as those worst of rebels are for the other, he will pardon us and punish them. I am sure Lord *Inchiquin* hath acquainted you, that he is preparing to go about ten or twelve days hence for *Scotland*. Albeit I am not in a condition now to serve your Lordship as I desire, yet my heart is constantly and truly, &c.

Antwerp, June $\frac{1}{2}$, 1651.

Jo. JOHNSON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

SINCE my last from this place of the $\frac{1}{2}$ present, I have had the honour to receive yours of the 8th of this month. That I had no letter from your Excellency by the two last posts, I conceive may be occasioned by your going to *Paris* to meet the D. of *York*. When you shall have spoken with his Royal Highness and Mr. *Henry Seymour*, you will (I am confident) judge I had good reason not to come into *France*. If there be no means to regain the Queen's gracious opinion but by falsifying the trust reposed in me by persons of honour and loyalty, I shall lament my misfortune, but not alter my resolution; nor shall I ever acknowledge that my reservedness therein was a fault, but on the contrary that I had committed a great one to have done otherwise. Lord *Inchiquin* is preparing to go for *Scotland*, and with him there will go an honest man that

that will return hither again speedily; so as if you ^{A.D. 1651} have any thing to send to his Majesty or to any with him that requires an answer, you cannot have a better opportunity.

I am now settling with my little company in this place for two or three months, by which time I shall be able to discern where it may be best for me to fix my station for the next winter, which will be far enough from meddling with any business if the *Louvre* must have the sole management of affairs, as I hear some there (to the great discouragement of the King's best subjects) already boast they have. I am told the Duke of *York* will be refused to have at the *Louvre* a place set apart for the exercise of divine service as formerly, which I humbly conceive he ought to resent. And as I believe the Queen regent would no more put that affront upon him now than heretofore, but for some busy English Papists about the Queen; so I am confident if the Duke of *York* shall press the Queen regent, that she will permit the same as formerly, she will not refuse it to him: and for his Highness to sit down by it without appearing to be very sensible of the indignity, would not (I suppose) be acceptable to the King or to any that love the Church of *England*. I hear that the intention of those at the *Louvre* is, to send the Duke of *York* into the French army for a good part of this summer. I shall not say any thing to the manner of his being there, that it may be with honour according to his birth and quality if he shall go: but I hope before he go thither, it will be well considered, that the Duke of *York*'s safety is at present the King's principal security, considering in what hands his person now is. It would likewise be remembered how the Count of *Soissons* was (as it's said) killed; and it would be thoroughly weighed, that if the Duke of *York* should miscarry (which God forbid) the rebels having then

A.D. 1651 the next hope in their hands, it would render the King's condition very sad and desperate. I hope your Excellency and those that have power with the Queen will persuade her not hastily to put the Duke of *York* into that army, and especially not without the King's privity and exprefs directions. My trust is, that your Excellency will make a right interpretation of my confidence in your goodness to me as well as in your integrity to his Majesty, that I thus freely without disguise or reserve discover my real but affectionate sense of what I conceive so highly to import those who of all the world I am most obliged to honour and to be most tender of. And I beseech your Excellency to rectify me in any thing wherein you conceive me mistaken in my way and desires to improve my service to his Majesty and his Royal Family; whereby you will add exceedingly to the infinite obligation of, &c.

Antwerp, June 28, 1651.

CHA. JOHNSON.

P. S. It's written to me from the *Hague*, that the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* and his Lady arrived there Friday last, and on Sunday following he and his Lady (when the Princess Royal was at Sermon) went to see the young Prince of *Orange*, and on Tuesday following intended to leave the *Hague*, without making one visit to her Highness Royal. That Marquess resolves to make war against the Duke of *Neuburg*, who will be assisted by the King of *Spain* and the D. of *Lorraine*; as the Marquess hopes to be by the *Swede*, which may (I apprehend) kindle a war in *Germany*. The things called English Ambassadors at the *Hague* are so much unsatisfied, that the States there are so long in their Treaty without concluding, as they

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they give out they will be gone this week, there ^{A.D. 1651} being three or four ships attending them at the *Brill* and *Helvoetsluys*.

The Archduke is gone to the army, and the Count of *Fuenseldagna* follows within few days, being well recovered.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

THOUGH my remove from *Caen* hath disorderd the course of my receiving your letters, yet I find that none of them have miscarried. It is true, that I have forbore to write some days, for want of opportunity and matter. I was desired the last week by *Sir George Radcliffe* to move the Queen to give him leave to kiss her hand, and to be admitted to answer what might be objected against him. I undertook the mediation, as well out of my duty to her Majesty, as friendship to *Sir George*, believing it suitable thereunto to mune her of the obvious objections that lie against her justice, if she refused to hear any body accused to have deserved her displeasure, before she placed it upon him. She was pleased (I hope) to understand my proposition so; for she gave him a long hearing, and in the conclusion of it (as he tells me) her hand to kiss again, in token of her being satisfied with his defence. I was in the chamber in the while, but not being called to hear what passed, I busied my self in looking upon pictures, and have the conclusion of the conference from *Sir George*.

This is not told you barely for the story's sake, but that if any application of it to a like case may be useful, I shall not be weary of reiterating this duty I owe the Queen, by letter, if I shall be removed from the honour of her presence (as I think

D 4

I shall

A.D. 1651 I shall be) before I receive any return to this letter. That which the Duke of *York* thinks fit first to have ordered in his affairs, is the proportioning of his expence both to the quantity and possible uncertainty of his pension. About this he hath commanded my stay something longer than I had designed; though my practice in my own little business of that kind cannot have given any reputation to my advices in the case of another. His Highness was written to (as I hear) before his coming out of *Holland*, that it would be expected he should go to the French army; which he must reasonably understand was intended to be in a condition suitable to his birth, and with a subordination of that expectation to what should appear to be most for the honour and service of the King his brother. I do not find that this State is in case to set him forth as befits his quality, and I believe his pension will be found but very barely sufficient to keep him here with the help of the Queen's table; so that the consideration which should and will most govern him relating to the King will not fall into consultation, nor any of his servants forced to make use of it. If after the settlement of his family and his acquaintance with the French court (where he is received with as much freedom as his alliance can challenge) he himself shall be desirous to see the French army, it is a divertisement that perhaps the Queen will not deny her consent unto: but surely I think nothing will be further proposed to him.

The Prince of *Condé's* leaving this town at an unusual hour and manner, you will have from many hands: and to judge of the event is more the work of magick, than prudential foresight; so little have the French changes of the rules of that art. If the alarm was hastily and groundlessly taken by him, yet really there is room for hope that he may receive satisfaction, and quickly return. But if it was
really

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really intended to secure his person, or if he knew *A.D. 1651* of no such purpose and yet pretends it, I think the difference will only be, who gave the first occasion to the trouble that will be.

Here is lately arrived a servant of Lord *Muskery's*, who brought me many letters, but of so old a date, that they are little useful for our information in the state of *Ireland*. The defeat we heard of the last week, is I fear too particularly related for the time, place, and manner, to be false. If it be true, there remains no place so probable or proper to receive supplies, as those parts Lord *Muskery* is in: which will not scape the consideration of those Gentlemen employed to the Duke of *Lorrain*; if his Highness shall not think it better to sit down with 20000 *l.* loss, than to venture more to recover it; as I doubt he will. His Royal Highness hath received a refusal to his desire of having a place set apart for him for divine service in the *Louvre*. Whether he will attempt it again by speaking himself to the Queen Regent, or go more frequently and solemnly to Sir *Richard Brown's*, I know not: but one of them I conceive he should. I am at the end of my paper and business at once, and remain, &c.

Paris, July 8, 1651.

ORMONDE.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

I AM very glad to understand by your Lordship's of the 8th present, that all my letters have first or last come safe to you. I shall continue giving you this trouble, whilst I have any thing to write worthy your notice; but I find not these parts so fruit-

A.D. 1651 fruitful of news as the *Hague*, and this place being much more expenceful (which the small remainder of my poor fortune will not bear) I shall be constrained before it be long to seek some cheaper and more private corner to reside in.

I rejoice that Sir *George Radcliffe* hath by your Excellency's mediation had so gracious an audience, and so well satisfied the Queen: but I do not conceive his condition or case to be in any sort applicable to mine; for I cannot complain that I have not been fully heard by her Majesty, but must acknowledge that I can say no more than I have done to satisfy her, that I cannot possibly bring my self to think it agreeable to the duty I owe her Majesty, for me to violate a trust reposed in me upon promise and in confidence that I would be secret in it. No, my Lord, I am not ambitious of that favour, which cannot be purchased but with the breach of my faith; and, if I must still lie under her Majesty's displeasure on that score, I shall lament my misfortune, and bear it with patience, without giving any friend or my self any farther trouble.

I have herein sent you a letter I received a day since from Lord *Inchiquin*, who goes *Monday* next to *Amsterdam* to embark for *Scotland*. I wish the King may with a victorious army be marched into *England* before his Lordship arrives, as some sanguine men here believe he will be. We have here many confident reports from *England*, and from ships that came not long since from *Scotland*, that some of the King's forces have beaten *Harrison*, and are marched into *England*: but albeit I want faith to believe so much of it as others do, yet I hope the King may by this time be in a prospering condition, and when Lord *Fermyn* shall go for *Scotland* I shall give the more credit to it. I hope the Duke of *York* will himself press the Queen Regent,
that

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that he may have the same favour for the exercise *A D. 1651* of his devotions at the *Louvre* as formerly, and that he will resent it as an affront put upon him by the artifice of some busy English Catholics, that he is now debarred of it; for I conceive if he pass it over, that it may be alledged in *Scotland* and in *England*, that his Highness is well content to have it so: which I apprehend may redound to the King's disadvantage, considering in what hands he is at present. I shall not continue here above a fortnight longer, and then I think to remove to some more retired place. Wheresoever I may be, I shall constantly remain, &c.

Antwerp, 14 July, 1651.

JAM. JOHNSON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

KNOWING my Lord Ambassador *Hyde* intends to write to your Lordship this week, I should have forborne giving you this trouble, but that I very lately received from a discreet and able Gentleman of *Scotland* a large letter of the present condition of his Majesty's affairs in that kingdom, of which I would not defer sending the inclosed extract; for that I give more credit to it than to the many vain reports which are every day divulged here. The last man who came from *Scotland* (*Mr. Orde*) brought no letters either for the Queen or the Princess Royal, but only one from *Daniel O'Neill* to the Lady *Stanhope*. He saith, *Mr. Fanshawe* told him, that he had many letters that he would make up and send to him: but finding the vessel ready to come

A.D. 1651 come away, this Gentleman was not willing to lose the opportunity for his passage, and so came away without any letters at all from the King, or any about him; but he tells me, there was an express to come within few days after him. I believe the King hath by this time fought; God grant he be victorious. As soon as I hear any thing certain from *Scotland*, I shall not omit to advertise it to your Excellency. The Lord *Inchiquin* was by appointment to be *Tuesday* or *Wednesday* last at *Amsterdam* to embark for *Scotland*; and I suppose he is there, unless the many reports of the King's marching instantly into *England* cause him to retard his journey.

I hear the Lord *Taaffe* is come to *Bruxelles* this week; and some say the Duke of *Lorrain* hath very lately sent away three ships with supplies for *Ireland*: I wish it be true, and if it be so, I suppose you will hear of it from Lord *Taaffe*. The news of Prince *Rupert's* taking two very rich prizes about the Bay of *Cadiz*, is confirmed from several parts in *Spain* and *France*: but whither his Highness will carry them to make profit of them is not easy to judge, unless he may be permitted to reside in some port in the French King's dominions. I intend to continue here till the end of the next month, by which time I presume we shall have better measures whereby to judge of the King's affairs.

We hear that the King of *Spain's* forces are retired into garrison, and intend to stand upon the defensive, finding the French to be much too strong for them in the field. I hear from a good hand, that the divisions and factions in *Holland* increase daily; that there the States are making strict disquisition into the late design and enterprize against *Amsterdam*. The two Secretaries to the late Prince of *Orange*, and some others, have been examined about

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about that business; and certain it is, that they have therein a great aim at the *Heer van Sommerdyk* (who is one of the ablest, richest, and worthiest persons among those States) and if they can find the least cause against him and some others (who were for their virtue best esteemed by the late Prince) or can discover that they had any hand in conducting his Highness in that attempt, they will assuredly fall very severely on them, being resolved (like true Boors indeed) now the Prince is dead, to revenge themselves upon his friends; and in this persecution (I hear) *Barnvoelt's* faction are most eager: which I believe will before it be long render the States dominions unquiet. There have been lately at the *Brill* some great divisions, which have caused the States to send Mr. *Brederode* thither to appease the same; as others were not long since sent to quiet the people at *Middleburgh*, where the people plundered a Burgomaster's house, and made another fly out of that town. Count *William* of *Frizeland* shall marry Madamoiselle *Albertina*, the late Prince of *Orange's* sister. The wars are like to go on between the Marquess of *Brandenburg* and the Duke of *Neuburg*. I fear I tire your Lordship while I endeavour thus to express my self, as I am really and very affectionately, &c.

A.D. 1651

Antwerp, July 11, 1651.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Colonel

A.D. 1654



Colonel Venables to General Montague.

S I R,

AFTER a most merciful and good hand of God with us at sea, the 29th last we came to an anchor in *Carlisle Bay*. The next day we landed and fell about our work: but presently of our selves, and privately by friends, were assured (which since we find true) that all the inhabitants were against our design, as destructive to them, and that they would not really and cordially assist us. All the promises made us in *England* of men, provision, and arms, we find to be but promises. I do not know that we have raised 3000, and not arms for 1300 of them. Mr. Noel's 1500 arms are found to be but 190. We did not doubt but my Lord and his Counsel had proceeded and grounded their resolves upon greater certainties, than we can yet discern by any one particular of all that was taken as most certain, the confidence of which did cause us with great assurance to rest satisfied with what was assured us we should find here. Only the country hath raised sixty horse in a troop for us. We cannot expect to be relieved from hence with provisions, they buying all their own: and had we not found some sent hither by the victuallers of the navy, I know not how we should have subsisted when gone hence. We have seised some Dutch vessels which we found here, who refuse to give us any Invoices or Bills of Lading, they having sold almost all their goods, and landed them before we came: and the inhabitants will not discover to whom those goods are sold; only since we came, a Dutchman came in with 246 Negroes, whom we have sold for about 5162 *l.* and another vessel with some asses, about 22 or 23, not yet sold, which will

will much exceed all the other seizures. Whatsoever ^{A.D. 1654} is not to be gotten here, must be sent for from *England*, or we must perish. We desired our mens arms might be changed, they being extreme bad, and two fifths not to be made serviceable here. Of 3000 men designed, we brought but 2500, and and not 1600 of those well armed; so that (our stores not coming as promised) we are making half-pikes here to arm the rest and those we raise; for we have not any hopes to procure at any hand above 1600 fire-arms. If bread and meal be not sent to us constantly, we must want it: for *Cassavy* after it is planted (and we cannot plant till *June* at soonest) will not be fit to eat of in a year. It's agreed on by all persons that know *America*, that *English* powder will not keep above nine months, and at that time we must receive constant supplies. French and Spanish powder will keep many years; therefore I earnestly desire, that salt petre and all other materials, a mill and men to make powder, might be sent us: for the several ingredients will keep uncompounded very well. We have met with all the obstructions that men in this place can cast in our way: and now we have time to draw our men together, we find not half of them to be armed, nay, in some regiments not above 200 are; the most having unfixed arms, and unfit men generally given to us. And here we are forced to make half-pikes to arm them; which hath lost us so much time, and will hazard our ruine. Had we been armed in *England*, doubtless we had been at work before this. I have just now an account from General *Penn* of what the fleet can accommodate us with; which, as you may see by the inclosed particular, will not amount to in shot above fifteen shot a man, a most inconsiderable proportion to have hunted *Tories* in *Ireland* with, where we might have had supplies every day, much more to attempt

A.D. 1654 attempt one of the greatest Princes in the world within his most beloved country, where some supplies cannot be had above twice a year; and this island, we find upon trial, will not fit us with so much; a sad matter, that we must attempt so high with little or nothing, or return home and do nothing! which few of us had a great deal more cheerfully hear the news of death than be guilty of. I have given you the best account I am able. The Commissioners, I believe, will be more large to his Highness. Pray let not the old proverb be verified in us, *Out of sight, out of mind*: if so, you will quickly hear we are out of this world. Sir, your interest in heaven, and that on earth, is earnestly desired may be improved in the behalf of

Yours, &c.

Barbados, Feb. 28, 1654.

R. VENABLES.

Colonel Venables to General Montague.

S I R,

SINCE my last to you from *Barbados* I have not heard from you: which place we left the last of *March*, and came to *St. Christopher's*, where we found a regiment formed; and not staying to anchor, we sailed thence without setting foot on shore, and in a fortnight's time came to *Hispaniola*, where we landed upon *Saturday* the 14th of *April*, near forty miles to the west of *Santo Domingo*. The reason was, our pilots were all absent; the chief had out-stayed his order, being sent out to discover, and none with us save an old Dutchman, that knew no place but that: whereas we resolved to have landed where *Sir Francis Drake* did, except forced off by a fort (said to be there;) and then in such a case to have gone to the other. From our
landing

landing we marched without any guide, save heaven, through woods; the ways so narrow, that 500 men might have extremely prejudiced 20000 by ambushes; but this course the enemy held not, save twice. The weather extreme hot, and little water; our feet scorched through our shoes, and men and horse died of thirst: but if any had liquor put into their mouths, presently after they fell, they would recover; else die in an instant. Our men the last fortnight at sea had bad bread, and little of it or other victuals, notwithstanding General Penn's order; so that they were very weak at landing; and some, instead of three days provision at landing; had but one, with which they marched five days, and therefore fell to eat limes, oranges, lemons, &c. which put them into fluxes and fevers. Of the former I had my share for near a fortnight, with cruel gripings, that I could scarce stand. Colonel Butler was ordered to land to the east of the City, but could not; and therefore he and the *Christophers* regiment under Colonel Holdip were landed where we first resolved, and were ordered by General Penn (whose order I enjoined them to obey) to stay there for us: but they marched away, which contrary to the first resolution, with some other reasons, drew us beyond their landing (where we were to receive more victuals) to secure them who were straggling up and down for water. Which put the enemy upon placing of an ambush for them, which fell upon our forlorn and routed them; but the van immediately beat them back with loss, and pursued them near to the city walls, who shot at us. Victuals we wanted, having fasted two days every man of us; our ammunition spent; no water; and our men ready to faint, and some died; the eagerness and heat of fight had drawn them beyond their strength. Whereupon it was resolved by a council of war, to retreat for meat

A.D. 1655 and ammunition; which we did: but our long march and this delay did give the enemy time to call in all the country to at least 4 or 5000, and left our men, after travel by sea, bad diet and fasting, very weak; so that when we advanced the next, they fell upon our forlorn again, routed them, and then in the narrow lanes and thick woods routed mine and Major General *Heane's* regiments, slew my Major and three of my Captains, slew the Major General, and wounded his Lieutenant Colonel, who is since dead; and were not repulsed, till the regiment of seamen (with whom I was) gave stop to this disaster. Never did my eyes see men more discouraged, being scarce able to make them stand, when the enemy was retreated, who never looked upon us until we were ready to faint for water; they having (which I forgot before to tell you) stopt up all their wells; so that we had not of ten miles at least one drop of water; so that whoever comes into these parts must bring leather-bottles, which are more needful here than knapsacks in *Ireland*. Therefore pray procure great store of them, or we must never make further attempt, the Spaniards defence being overgrown woods and want of water. Upon this disaster and our mens fears we fell to new counsels, and resolved to try *Jamaica*, (from which nothing diverted our first attempt, but that it wanted a name in the world, our men refusing to march again for *Domingo*) where we landed (having beaten the enemy from off his forts and ordnance) upon the tenth of *May*; and find the country in our judgments equal, if not superior, to *Hispaniola*: and in 4 miles march here, I saw more cattle and plantations than in 40 in *Hispaniola*, and a better air, the site more advantageous to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet. The *Recovery* and *William* of *London* are come to us with some biscuit, which we extremely want, but the fleet claim

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claim it as theirs; and then we starve: for the enemy here, after signing articles, have run into the woods, and drove away all the cattle into the mountains, and left us nothing but bare walls and roots to shelter and feed upon. We are getting horse to make Troopers and Dragoons: and then we hope well, if the Lord blefs a party we have sent forth under Colonel *Butler*. The people have broke all their promises all along: but we have their Governor and another principal man as two hostages; they say, the articles are too harsh.

A copy of which I have sent enclosed to Mr. *Rowe*, of whom you may have them. Pray move for bread and meal (for the country will not afford us any cassavy considerable of a year) with brandy, and all other provisions as in the former, with conveniency to make powder and salt-petre; which some men amongst us, that were powder-men in *London*, do affirm may be had as good and as plentifully as in any place in the world; and after three years they will undertake to serve *England* at an easier rate than ever; wood and rivers for mills, with carriage, being easy here, with choice of place to erect mills at for powder and petre, which I desire we may be enabled for to make. For *Christopher* will furnish us with brimstone; all other materials are here in abundance, save workmen.

We find ebony in great plenty, and great store of large cattle, and timber in abundance for shipping, and some ships on the stocks in building; a gallant harbour, and very safe when in, and easy for to fortify. If we want a fleet, we are cooped up as drones; these with us cannot stay; they want provisions. I have not had one day's health since I left *Barbados*. I cannot eat any thing, save milk or broth; scarce able to stand on my legs. Officers die so fast, that we are troubled to find men to supply their places. Near 3000 men sick with the

A.D. 1655 rains and ill air of *Hispaniola*: the distemper got there some will carry to their graves. Honest Mr. *Winslow* is dead of a fever, since we left *Hispaniola*. Had I time and strength, I should give you a more large account; which I reserve for another time, and desire you would excuse me that I use another pen, being unable to perform it my self. Pray send us bread and meal, or else we perish; here it is not to be had, and *New England* (we are assured) is not able to furnish us; and therefore *England* must speedily, or we perish. I remain, Sir,

St. Jago de la Vega in Jamaica, May 26. 1655.

Your very humble Servant,

R. VENABLES.

The King to the Duke of Neuburg.

Mon Cousin,

JE vous suis particulièrement obligé du soin que vous avez de mes interêts à Rome; & comme en conformité de vostre lettre le Baron de Wespennig m'en a entretenu au long, ainsi (ne le pouvant faire devant son depart aujourd'huy) je ne manqueray pas de vous envoyer au premier jour les informations que le Pere demande.

Vous me ferez justice de croire, que j'espouseray tousjours vos interêts avec passion; aussi escriray-je par la premiere poste à Paris touchant ce que vous me mandez; & assurez vous, mon Cousin, qu'il n'y a rien que je souhaitte plus ardemment, que de pouvoir donner commencement par quelque bon office en cette cour-là aux reconnoissances que vous avez tousjours attendre de, mon Cousin,

Vostre bien affectionné Cousin,

Cologne, May 1655.

CHARLES.

A mon Cousin, Monsieur le Duc de Neuburg,
Comte Palatine.

Memoir

Memoir presented by the Marquess of Ormonde A.D. 1655
to the Duke of Neuburg at Dusseldorff, on
June 15. 1655.

1. **I**T is by the concurrent testimony his Majesty receives from all places (amongst which the letters from the *Barbados* seem a good evidence) conceived, that it is now manifest, that the design of *Cromwell* in the fleet commanded by *Penn* is to fall upon the *Spaniard* in the *West Indies*, which (besides his conjunction with *France*, that is now out of question) must oblige the King of *Spain* to a war with the rebels, except he be contented to let them at least share with him in those dominions; which cannot be imagined.

2. How the *Spaniard* hath comported himself towards his Majesty (though he was the first Prince to whom his Majesty applied himself, and whose alliance he desired) is too well known; which may make those approaches the more difficult towards a better intelligence, which in this conjuncture is necessary to both their affairs. There will therefore be need of the interposition of some Prince, who wishes well to both, to introduce such a correspondence between them, as is fit for both: and then it will not be hard to make it appear, that as the assistance which the King of *Spain* can easily give to the King of *Great Britain* may be very available to him towards his restoration; so that it will be in his Majesty's present power (how low soever his condition appears to be) to contribute more towards the defeating *Cromwell's* attempts in the *Indies*, and towards the assistance of his Catholick Majesty against his other enemies, than in any other Princes of Christendom.

3. Let the present success of the English fleet be what it will in the *West Indies*, if *Cromwell* be not

A.D. 1655 able to send constant and full supplies thither, the design must come to nothing, how prosperous soever the first entrance upon it chance to be: and if the King of *Spain* will give that assistance and countenance to his Majesty, as will be very agreeable to the carrying on of his own affairs, his Majesty will be able to give *Cromwell* too much to do in the three Kingdoms, to leave him at liberty to attend those remote expeditions. Besides the power the King hath in the navy and amongst the sea-men, and in this particular fleet under *Penn*, where (besides the common soldiers and mariners) there are many principal Officers, who have served his Majesty, and whose affections will dispose them to receive any orders from the King: all which will appear as soon as his Majesty hath the liberty of ports to encourage the resort of his ships and sea-men to his service: which whensoever he shall have, *Cromwell* will hardly adventure the setting out any great fleets, well knowing how ill-affected the sea-men are to him.

4. The advantage which his Catholick Majesty may receive by a conjunction with the King of *Great Britain* is not small with reference to the carrying on the war in *Flanders*, where he is like to be most pressed, by the confirming and disposing the Irish, who are already in his pay, heartily to his service, of whom there is at present so great jealousy, that he is almost without the benefit of that body; and by the drawing off all the regiments of that nation, which at present serve the French, and do not amount to less in number in *Catalonia*, *Italy*, and *France*, than ten thousand men, whereof there will not remain a considerable number, when they shall once know that their King is but invited to make his residence in *Flanders*, and hath the friendship of that King; and of what moment the falling away of such a strength may be to the disappointing

ing of all the designs of this campagnia, is easy to foresee, and as easy, when the winter shall draw on, to transport those his Majesty's own subjects into *England* and *Ireland*, where they will meet with such a conjunction from his Majesty's faithful subjects, as will keep *Cromwell* from molesting and disquieting his neighbours.

5. The reputation of this friendship between these two great Kings, and the probability that the King of *England* will be thereby speedily restored to an entire possession of his kingdoms and dominions, (which all men will believe, who do understand the temper of the several people thereof, and the detestation they have jointly of the present tyranny) will keep the Dutch to a strict observation of their treaty with his Catholick Majesty, and from joining with his enemies upon the disadvantage his affairs may seem to stand in, and will dispose even *France* itself to a desire of peace upon moderate conditions, when they shall both consider what a friend his Catholick Majesty will be sure always to have of the King of *England* to punish any insolence that shall be now offered to him.

This information and these considerations his Majesty imparts to his Highness the Duke of *Newburg*, as to his best friend, and a Prince in intire amity with *Spain*, and most concerned in any misfortune that can befall that King in his dominions in those countries, and whose counsel is therefore like to be hearkened to for the preventing it. And if his Highness judges by what is offered, that his Majesty can bear a part in diverting that mischief, he will be very willing, that all overtures towards this conjunction may proceed from him in what way he thinks best, and will frankly refer all particulars which in the transaction may concern his Majesty's interest, to his wisdom and friendship; and

A.D. 1655 to that purpose it is not unfit to add this ensuing discourse.

If the *Spaniards* appear jealous of the King's affection, as most inclined to *France*, and alledges the unkindness of his Majesty's father, in receiving the Ambassador of *Portugal*, as they use to do, and his present Majesty continuing that honour to that Ambassador at *Paris*: The drawing off the Irish from the service of *Spain* (after his Catholick Majesty had made those levies in *Ireland*, and transported them to *Spain* at a vast charge) to the French, by which *Bourdeaux* was lost, and all the Prince of *Condé's* designs upon *Guienne* disappointed: The diverting the Duke of *Lorraine* when he was near *Paris* from pursuing the advantages he had, and persuading him to retire; and such other discourses, which are common amongst them to extenuate and excuse their own demeanour: It is answered (without reproaching them with the retaliation of greater discourtesies) that it is well known, that the receiving the *Portugal* Ambassador in *England* was since the beginning of the Parliament, and when those rebels, who afterwards brought all the mischief upon the nation, prevailed in all councils; and therefore cannot be imputed to his late Majesty.

That it was not in his present Majesty's power to refuse to receive an Ambassador at *Paris*, who came to pay civilities to him, and who was received as Ambassador by that Crown.

That his Majesty never had the least hand in drawing the Irish from the service of his Catholick Majesty, nor gave countenance to the same, though his Majesty believes it was an effect of his residence in *France*, which gave the Irish occasion to believe, that their resort thither might advance his service: which is evidence enough how easily they may be drawn to that Prince, who avows an affection for his Majesty. How his Majesty came into that kingdom

kingdom after his misfortune at *Worcester*, and how A.D. 1653
 he was necessitated to stay there without at all in-
 termeddling in their interests, is well enough
 known; nor had his stay there been so long, if the
 supply promised by his Catholick Majesty to the
 King, and assigned to be paid in *Flanders*, had ac-
 cordingly been made good.

His Majesty had no hand to any agreement or
 treaty between the Duke of *Lorrain* and the *French*,
 but the same was finished without his privity; and
 his Majesty earnestly desired by a letter from the
 Duke of *Lorrain* to speak with him, his Majesty
 not knowing or imagining that the French army
 had been so near, till he came upon the place;
 when the offices he performed were upon the re-
 quest of the Duke of *Lorrain* and for his advantage,
 and only in pursuance of the agreement he had for-
 merly made with the French Court.

Upon the whole matter, the Duke of *Neuburg*
 may pass his word for his Majesty, and undertake
 on his behalf, that if his Catholick Majesty will
 take the King's cause to heart, his Majesty will as
 heartily engage himself for the present and the fu-
 ture to advance his interests against all people what-
 soever; and that until it shall be seasonable to en-
 deavour to make impression upon his own domini-
 ons, he will draw what forces he can (which will
 be very considerable) to assist the King of *Spain* in
Flanders, and, if it be thought fit, will be ready to
 be in his own person in his army.

The M. of Ormonde to the Duke of Neuburg.

HAVING given the King my master an ac-
 count of the commands he gave me to your
 Highness, and of your Highness's sense and advice
 upon that affair I found him infinitely satisfied with
 the

A.D. 1655 the confirmation of your affection, and with the way you are resolved to proceed in it: which was punctually such as he should have desired, but that he was resolved to put himself entirely upon your own method, and to be wholly governed by your counsel; which he commanded me to let your Highness know.

According to your Highness's command, I send you the extract of letters sent his Majesty from *Brest*; which were taken out of many that were sent from persons in *Cromwell's* fleet from the *Barbados*, and intercepted by one of the frigats that sail under the King my master's commission; as also a letter written to my self by a person of interest and condition of the Irish nation, with which, as concerning the design of *Penn's* fleet and the treaty with *France*, divers letters from *England* and *France* do agree. But some letters from *Holland* do seem to import, that there is a stop made by *Cromwell* to sign the articles, upon a massacre committed by the *French* troops upon some Protestants in or near *Savoy*, the general Protector of which religion he would be understood to be. And if he have found it convenient for him to delay the finishing of that treaty, till he knows the success of his fleet, he could not find a more advantageous pretext than that action has given him.

Having discharged my self of the King my master's and your Highness's commands, permit me to acknowledge my particular obligations to your Highness, and to assure you that I shall always receive the honour of your commands as the greatest happiness that can befall, &c.

Cologne, June 17, 1655.

ORMONDE.

The

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1655

The D. of Neuburg to the M. of Ormonde.

Monfieur,

C E m'a esté un parfait contentement d'entendre par la vostre du 17 du courant, que le zélé que j'ay pour le service de sa Majesté, & les assurances que vous luy en avez données luy aye esté agreable ; & vous prie, Monsieur, d'asseurer sa Majesté, qu'en tout ce qui regardera ses interets je m'y porteray avec autant d'ardeur & de fidelité, que le plus zélé de tous ses serviteurs : & je n'aurois manqué d'envoyer au mesme instant le Baron de Virmont, Marechal de mon Duché de Juliers, (Cavalier du quel je me peus entierement fier) pour faire les propositions que sçavez, & sonder les intentions de Monsieur l'Archiduc & du Comte de Fuenfaldagne, si les avis que me mandez d'avoir receu de Hollande ne missent encor en doute la conclusion & accomplissement entier du traicté entre la France & Cromwell ; croyant que tant que cela ne sera effectué, & du costé d'Espagne toute esperance perdue, qu'ils n'escousteront pas ces propositions, & qu'on mettroit en hazard les interets de sa Majesté : mais aussi-tost que je seray assuré de la conclusion effective du susdict traicté, & que le Baron de Laide soit retourné sans rien effectuer, ou que la flotte de Penne aye rompu contre les Indes (de quoy je vous prie de me vouloir aussi-tost aviser) je ne perdray un seul moment de faire partir le susdict Cavaglier ; & ce me seroit le plus grand contentement du monde, si en cest affaire & en toutes autres occasions je pourrois faire paroistre les veritables effects du respect & obeissance que j'ay voué à sa Majesté.

Pour vous, Monsieur, je confesse que le petit accueil qui vous a esté faict icy merite plustost des excuses

A.D. 1655

cuses de ma part, que des remerciements de la vostre : mais comme vous temoignez une si genereuse reconnoissance où que vous n'avez point de subject, cela m'oblige autant plus a rechercher les moyens pour vous donner des preuves veritables de l'estime que je faicte de vostre personne & merite, & que je suis tres parfaitement, Monsieur,

Vostre tres affectionné,

PHIL. GUIL, Conte PALATIN.

P. S. Il me semble tres-necessaire d'entretenir la bonne volonté de ce Cavaglier Irlandois, puisque sans faute sa Majesté d'une façon ou de l'autre se pourra avec avantage servir de ses troupes.

A Dusseldorfe ce 19 de Juin, 1655.

The M. of Ormonde to the D. of Neuburg.

Monseigneur,

EN suite du commandement qu'il a pleu à vostre Altesse me donner de luy faire part de nos nouvelles, j'ay creu qu'il estoit de mon devoir de luy faire scavoir, que toutes nos lettres, tant de Flandres que d'Angleterre, portent, que le Marquis de Leda a pris congé de Cromwell, & s'en retourné fort peu satisfait du succes de son Ambassade : & d'autant que vostre Altesse est sur le point de faire le voyage de Neuburg, le Roy m'a commandé de la prier de l'obliger de ses conseils touchant la conduite de l'affaire, que j'ay eu l'honneur de luy proposer, puisque l'esloignement de vostre Altesse nous empeschera désormais d'avoir si souvent recours à elle, & de tirer tous les jours les avantages

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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vantages de l'entremise & du voisinage de vostre *AD. 1655*
Altesse. Je suis avec toute sorte de respect, Mon-
seigneur, de vostre Altesse,

Cologne, 2. de Juillet,
1655.

Le tres humble

& tres obeissant Serviteur,

ORMONDE,

Directed : A son Altesse serenissime Monseigneur le
Duc de Neuburg Comte Palatin, à Dusseldorff.

The D. of Neuburg to the M. of Ormonde.

Monseigneur,

J'AY attendu l'ordinaire de Brusselles pour respon-
dre à la vostre du 2. du courant, croyant qu'il
m'apporteroit quelques nouvelles asseurées du Mar-
quis de Leda, & de la conclusion de la paix entre
la France & Cromwell. Mais les lettres ne m'ay-
ant donné la moindre assurance ny de l'un ny de
l'autre, le tout dependra des ordres de sa Majesté,
aux quels j'obeiray avec toute promptitude. Pour
moy, Monsieur, je croyrois estre dangereux de
proposer l'affaire avant qu'on soit asseuré de la con-
clusion entiere & parfaite du dict traité, ou de
quelque hostilité considerable que les troupes ou
flottes de Cromwell avoient exercé contre l'Espagne;
craignant que les Espagnols, tant qu'il leur restera
la moindre esperance de s'attacher avec Cromwell,
n'escousteront nos propositions, eins pourroient s'en
prevaloir pour obliger Cromwell, encor que ce soit
au tres grand prejudice de vostre Roy & de ses ser-
viteurs: & si la France en auroit le moindre vent,
elle pourroit s'en trouver offensée, & l'affection
qu'elle a pour sa Majesté entierement perdue, la-
quelle indubitablement par toute raison encor se
consert

A.D. 1635 confert a l'interieur; encor que les conjoinctures présentes ne permettent de la faire esclatter. Mais quant les traictés entre la France & Cromwell se trouveroient en tel estat; que les Espagnols se verroient hors de toute esperance, ce seroit alors qu'à mon opinion on pourroit entamer l'affaire avec espoir de grand avantage.

Ce sont, Monsieur, mes petits sentiments, lesquels je remets à l'arbitre de sa Majesté, de laquelle je depends absolument; & encor que je sois resolu de faire un voyage vers mon Duché de Neubourg; je ne manqueray pourtant de commender à un de mes premiers ministres d'excuter les ordres qu'il plairat à sa Majesté luy donner; à laquelle j'espere encore de rendre mes très humbles devoirs à Cologne, & de recevoir l'honneur de ses commendements. Je confesse, Monsieur; que la plus grande mortification que je receveray à Neubourg, sera l'esloignement de sa Majesté: mais l'esperance me console, qu'encor en ces quartiers là je ne seray du tout inutile, puisque me trouvant d'autant plus proche de l'Empereur & de l'Italie, je pourray de ce costé là tant mieux veiller aux interets de sa Majesté, & de cetuicy, celui à qui j'en donneray la charge aura le même soin à tout ce qui regardera le service de sa Majesté, que le mien propre; car c'est une personne de laquelle je me peux fier parfaitement. Quant j'auray l'honneur de baiser très humblement les mains à sa Majesté, que j'espere sera pour le 14 du courant, je prendray la liberté de luy dire mes petits sentiments, croyant cependant de recevoir quelques nouvelles d'Italie, & je seray aussi ravi de vous y voir, Monsieur, pour vous faire connoistre de plus en plus; que je suis très veritablement, Monsieur,

Vostre tres affectionné

A. Dusseldorf ce
4. de Juillet;
1635.

PH. GUIL. Conte Palatin.

M. Winkel-

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1655

M. Winkelhausen to the M. of Ormonde.

Monsieur,

AYANT passé peu de jours quitté son Altesse le Duc de Newburgh mon maistre, & pour lors obtenu d'elle license de me tenir environ quinze jours icy en un chasteau nommé Godenaw à cinq heures de chemin de Cologne, & deux de Bonne, où je suis arrivé avanthier, pour me servir des eaux acides de Tonistein, pour la conservation de ma santé, & d'obtenir quelque allègement d'un mal des gravelles que me tient. Sa dicte Altesse m'a commandé d'en advertir vostre Excellence, afin que quand il plairoit à sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne de me commander dans l'affaire cogneu, & se servir de ma personne, je pourrai recevoir ses ordres, lesquelles j'exécuteray fidelement, estant cependant en tres forte passion de temoigner que je suis de vostre Excellence

Tres obeissant Serviteur,

Godenaw le 3. d'Aoust, 1655.

H. Baron de WINKELHAUSEN.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

My good Lord,

IHAVE no more to say to you, than to tell you that the inclosed came hither by the last post, inclosed in Mr. *Harding's*, with direction, that if the party to whom it was directed was absent, he should burn it. I send you the original, and it is very strange, if all this confidence proceeded from no kind of ground. I pray God there be no intrigue between Don *Alonso* and the *Jesuite*. He writ

A.D. 1656 writ in his letter to Mr. *Harding* the story of his brother's escape, contrary to what we had heard before; and that he was taken the next day after *Halfey*; whereas you remember the letter from *Will*, that says they were taken together. I have likewise a letter from the Colonel to you inclosed in Mr. *Lane's* letter; which I think it is no matter for sending. He desires it may be shewed to me, because *Dan. Oneile* told him, that the business was known only to the King, you, and me; which it is strange he should say, when he knows what you said to his brother. He seems to fear, that his making his escape may lose his brother's credit, and make that matter miscarry: whereas I have some reason to be very confident, that he and his brother had spoke with each other on this side the sea, before he came hither; and I am more confirmed than I was when we parted, that they are all in the pack of knaves. I had forgot to tell you, that the last night Mr. *Ravey* came to me in some trouble, and asked me whether one *Gilbert Talbot* had been lately here, and told me almost as much as I knew, which he had then seen in letters from *Bruxelles*; so that you may see what rare fellows those are, and why any body should be bound to keep their secrets. There is one excellent clause in the Colonel's letter to you, which I must tell you is quite of another style to the two former which he sent; in which he tells you, that 200 *l.* of the money remained still in a good hand, that will be paid according to such order as the King or you shall give. If he speaks with you, I pray observe and set down in writing what he says of his first imprisonment, his release from that, and of his escape since. God keep you, and send you safe to us. My good Lord,

Cologne, Jan. 7,
1656.

Yours ever,

E. H.

Sir

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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Sir Henry de Vic to the M. of Ormonde.

My ever most honoured Lord,

I DOUBT not with God's help to wait on your *A.D. 1655*
Lordship upon *Friday* next; having past over
and dispatched two of those busineses which hindred
me from attending you to *Antwerp* yesterday morn-
ing. The one was that I might be here at the arri-
val of the post of *Cologne*, to convey your Lord-
ship, such letters as he brought from thence both
for yourself and for me; and accordingly I sent
them last night under a cover to Mr. *Shaw* in con-
formity to your Lordship's orders. The other was,
that in the delivery of his Majesty's letters to Don
Alonso, I might discover if it were possible how I
stood in his opinion in point of fidelity to the King
my master, and affection to this King's affairs; and
I think I have compast both without the least
breach of my promise to you. Concerning the first,
Don *Alonso* himself gave me opportunity to clear it,
upon his representing unto me the necessity of be-
ing secret, and his intimating unto me as if some-
thing should be wanting in those that are about his
Majesty. I answer'd him with acknowledging, that
his Majesty's, as well as other Princes Ministers,
were subject unto such aspersions, of which they
knew not how to vindicate themselves, because they
knew not their authors. That no man could con-
tribute so much as Don *Alonso* himself, (who had been
so long in *England* and conversed so much with those
of the Directory there) to so useful and necessary a
discovery: and therefore I did desire him that for
the good of our common interest, he would disclose
what he knew touching that particular. That I

A.D. 1655 prayed him I might be the mark, at which the first arrows should be shot; if he had discovered that I had so much as faultred; it being of chief importance to be assured of my integrity, on whose credit his Majesty and they did rely in all that passed between them. He answered me, laying his hand on his breast, that if he had the honour to see the King, the first words he would say unto him of business should be, that the Protector to his knowledge did perfectly hate me, because he knew me to be so faithful a servant to his Majesty, and that his Majesty ought to regard me accordingly; adding that he was obliged to say so much both for truth and justice sake. I had a great deal of other discourses with him, which I remit to entertain your Lordship withal, till I have the honour to see you; only I shall add, that as for my affection to the King, and his Majesty's affairs, there could be no better proof of it, than the great esteem and trust I was in with these Ministers, and especially with the Count of *Fuensaldagna*, who was my particular good friend. It seems he knows of your Lordship's having been here; for he asked me what was become of you. In fine my Lord, I assure you, that in all the times I have been with him, he did never use me with so much kindness and civility. Having cleared my particular, I shall with more liberty deliver my opinion to your Lordship in the rest, namely to take no further notice thereof, nor to press a point which they do disclaim, and if any, where you are, entertain your Lordship with it, to decline the discourse as much as you can; and if they do press you therein, to tell them you cannot believe it hath other ground than a zeal unto their profession, or take knowledge of any such thing as coming from the ministers unless you saw authority for it. Pardon, I humbly beseech

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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befeech your Lordship, this boldness and presumption in

A.D. 1655

Your Lordship's, &c.

Brussels, Wednesday-night,

Jan. 11. 1655.

DE VIC.

The Prince of *Condé* is here, and I hope to see him to-morrow night.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

My very good Lord,

I HAVE all yours of the 10th and 11th, and the King hath yours to him, and he says he will write to you himself: which I would not have him to do, except he would chide you as you deserve. Sure you would be too proud of doing any thing well, if you did not humble yourself by doing somewhat impertinently after. This going to Mrs. *Hewett*, and all your other projects is mere rambling, and I expected nothing more than that you would have been here the last night; when at the beginning of Sir *H. de Vic's* letter, I found that you left *Brussels* on Monday morning. Though you had been sure by a day or two's loitering to have met the Princess-Royal, it had been worth the considering, whether reasonable objections were not to have been made against it. Now I hope you are satisfied that you may expect long enough; for surely whilst this weather holds she cannot come out of *Holland*; the which I hope is so well understood by you, that you are even now upon your way hither. If not, I beseech you make what haste you can; for upon my credit, we are without the benefit of your having been there, till you return: and every day produces somewhat that makes your presence necessary;

A.D. 1655 nor will the King resolve of making his dispatch to Spain, till he confer with you. I know not what to say more.

I did not think fit to send the letters Mr. Lane sent from the three brothers which came but on Sunday last, because I could not imagine you would be to be found in those parts; and therefore I writ not myself on Tuesday. To my understanding there can hardly be any thing more evident of that kind, than that they are all naught. *Gilbert* quarrels in his, for your having written to the post at *Antwerp*, that he should not deliver letters with such a superscription (which contains his directions) to any but your man: which note, he says, he read himself; and so did *Jamott*; which must be some ridiculous mistake, and it may be his name may be like some of those in our note, and so the porter may have mistaken it; which hath given occasion to say somewhat to *Jamott* upon the manner of taking up our letters. Truly, methinks you should have said somewhat of it to the *Condé*: and I pray consider well, whether you should not wish Sir *H. de Vic* to say in confidence to the *Condé*, that you have too much reason to suspect all three to have correspondence with *Cromwell*; and therefore that he be cautious accordingly. If the Jesuit be not sent to a remote Convent and kept close from farther activity, I know not what to think of it: but we have a very froward face, that such cattle can do us so much hurt, and the wisest men can do us little good.

I can say no more: but for God's sake make what haste you can; in which better men are more concerned than,

My very good Lord, &c.

Cologne, Jan. 14, 1655.

E. H.

I have

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I have a letter for you from my Lord *Dillon*, with ^{A.D. 1653} whom I presume you have spoken: and though he should do nothing to break off the business of the Levellers, yet I think it very necessary that he let the *Condé* know that it is far from being a secret; and it would be well, he would tell him the way he comes to know it, which will produce (besides it may be other discoveries) a hastening of them to do what is in their power, lest they be prevented: and I am of opinion, that is the true reason that keeps them so reserved towards us, till those fellows break out.

Colonel Richard Talbot to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I ALWAYS thought the many testimonies all those of our family gave of their fidelity to the King's service, and in particular to your Excellency, and the many hazards that myself hath lately run in order thereunto, might merit a better opinion of me, than I find there is held of me by some of the King's Ministers there, to be *Cromwell's* only intelligence here: if the loss of so much blood as I have lost in his service, the quitting of my fortune here the last summer to go into *England*, to venture the lives of my friends, and my own; my imprisonment there for six months, (which is a thing publickly known to the King's best friends there, that it stood me in 400 *l. Sterling*;) and lastly my life lost (if I had not made my escape) be not motives sufficient to justify me. My Lord, I am a Gentleman, and if I were so wicked, as to be so void of all fidelity to my lawful Prince as to turn rogue for interest; yet I am not so despicable a spirit as to do an act so much below a Gentleman; and if all this be not sufficient, in

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reason,

A.D. 1655 reason, your Excellency will allow, that he had no
 need of employing me; whereas he employed one
 formerly (which you know) that he knew could
 serve his turn as well, and was here before ever I
 was taken the second time. Pray, my Lord, do but
 ask the question, to what purpose should he employ
 us both here, or in what could I be more useful to him
 here than the other? If I had staid in *England* there
 might be more ground for that scandalous report,
 where (certainly) I could do him more service, and
 if he that was employed by him, (I am confident
 for no other end than to serve his Majesty, and to
 gain himself a little money,) had acquainted me
 with it before he had concluded with him, I would
 never suffer him to take so unworthy a business in
 hand, though it should prove never so advantage-
 ous to the King's service, or never so beneficial to
 himself; but when it was past my remedy, I advis-
 ed him to acquaint your Excellency with it; which
 he did, and would, though I had never known it.
 I cannot imagine how this should come to pass, but
 I hope my innocency will appear, when some of those
 that accuse me, will be seen black enough; I be-
 lieve *Robin Dongan's* coming hither now will con-
 firm them in it, and that his escape was permitted,
 as being of relation to me, for it was that, that rais-
 ed the first report in *England* of it. I should never
 have known that I was suspected, but that the Chan-
 cellor there, writ to a certain Gentleman at *Dunkirk*,
 to send into *England* to know the certainty from
Halcy; but I am of opinion *Halcy* is too honest a
 man to tax me, if it be not that he hath heard that
 I said, that the attempt (at least) had been made
 upon the Protector's person, but that he either
 through cowardice, or some other private end, had
 obstructed it, and that I said to those that I was sure
 would tell him of it; and that I will justify. And, my
 Lord, you needed not have writ into *England* to be
 satisfied

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satisfied of me; but the best on't is I am at defiance *A.D. 1655*
with all my accusers in that particular, either in *England* or any other place, or any thing else that
ever redounded to the King's prejudice; and be-
cause that they shall not think here, that it was inte-
rest that made me first think of going into *England*,
I will make satisfaction to the least peny of what
money I received, which was hard upon 300 *l.*
Daniel O Neile hath assigned me to pay 100 *l.* there
to one that gave me so much, and I shall take order
for it. As for the remain, I hope I shall be able to
give him satisfaction very soon; and though I be
held now to have a correspondency with *Cromwell*,
I hope before many days pass that my actions will
declare the contrary: all the favour that I beg of
your Lordship is that you will not prejudicate me;
and so that his Majesty and your Excellency be sa-
tisfied (as you may be very justly) those others that
harbour that opinion of me, may make farther en-
quiry in it, and if they find any evident proofs for
it, all the favour I desire from them is that they will
prosecute me. I humbly beg your Excellency's
pardon for this trouble, and hope my actions will
never speak me other than a faithful Servant of his
Majesty and,

My Lord,

Antwerp, Feb. 1, 1655.

Your Excellency's, &c.

R. TALBOT.

Ditto to Ditto.

My Lord,

I Expected (with much impatience) your Excel-
lency's letter, which came to my hands so very
late yesterday, that I had not time by my last post

A.D. 1655 to return you my humble thanks for the honour you did me, and to say farther, if it were possible, to bind me more faithfully to his Majesty's service, or more firm to your interests, so obliging a letter would infallibly do it; but that being as impossible, as my being the person I was represented there to be, I do promise myself, that his Majesty and yourself will (at least) suspend your ill opinions of me, until you have some more convincing evidence of my guilt; and that once made apparent, I shall very patiently submit myself to the punishment (in the publick view of the world) that the infamy and wickedness of my crime doth require. And on the other side, your Excellency I am confident will allow, that my petition is not unreasonable, if I beg that no inconsiderable persons, or little envoys in *England's* words be taken for it, if they give not some other proofs than their own bare surmises, and the rather because I know some of them will be apt enough to do me the worst offices they can, for no other reason, than because I *spake* my conscience to some of them in order to the King's service.

Though little (my Lord) I have seen of the world, I have observed, that wherever there was any undertaking by any person, never so deserving, and never so really meant without other end than the publick good, and that it proved unsuccessful, were it never so clear that nothing was lost for want of care or contrivance, yet it must necessarily follow that he is blameable, because it succeeded not according to expectation.

God forbid I should plead the former and present endeavours of all those of our family, in serving his Majesty for my justification, I will only say one word, that in my opinion is convincing enough, that if interest were so prevalent with me, as to make me quit all honesty, it is not by giving intelligence from hence, that I could make my
greatest

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greatest benefit. I could before I came out of *Eng.* ^{A.D. 1655} *land*, by slipping but a very few words, gain myself a fortune, and my friends likewise during our lives, and no-body know neither who hurt him; but I praise God for it, I am not of so covetous a disposition, as to prefer money before my conscience, my loyalty, and my honour. I have lived hitherto without being a trouble or discredit to my friends, and I hope will continue it. I shall not trouble your Excellency further in this matter; I know not what I may suffer at present in your opinions, but I hope a little time will give me opportunity to make the contrary evidently appear; the daily hazards of my life shall justify me, where (I fear) my accusers dare not shew their faces; and since you have always been the patron of us all, I humbly crave your assistance, in my vindication, in this particular that so nearly concerns the reputation of,

My Lord,

Antwerp, Feb. 12. 1655.

Your Excellency's, &c.

R. TALBOT.

Sir George Radcliffe to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

FATHER *Dallé* who is here Ambassador for the King of *Portugal*, expresseth a great desire to serve the King our master: and though he will not take upon him to be confident of the success of his endeavours, yet he seems to have some hope to effect something for the King's advantage. He has been enquiring whom he might trust to convey his mind to the King: and *Dr. Kelly* has put him

A.D. 1655 him upon me. I have spoken with him several times of late, wherein he has hitherto made some overtures: but his chief endeavour has been to procure an engagement of secrecy; for he has met here with sundry persons who complain that nothing is kept secret at *Cologne*. He desires therefore that I should write immediately to his Majesty, and procure his answer under his own hand to that which he proposeth in general: but when particulars come to be treated on, he thinks it necessary, that the King advise with such of his Council, as he doth best trust and believes will be secret. I confess that he put me into a little perplexity, how to carry myself in this business. I saw no great matter in that which he seems to aim at: perhaps the King hath already thought of gaining the assistance of those persons, which this Father thinks on, by some other way; and it seems too strict to expect from his Majesty any thing at all in matters of such consequence, without advice of some of his Council. Yet on the other side, I think it always my duty to omit or neglect nothing, which in any possibility may tend to his Majesty's advantage, and better that I hazard the reputation of my small discretion, than pass by any the least opportunity or means to serve the King. This Father has means to know more of the present affairs of *Christendom*, and the temper and inclinations of the great men employed, than I can possibly judge of. If he can do nothing, yet his affection and endeavour is not to be contemned: and he that has gotten so much credit with a stranger, (the King of *Portugal*) who now employs and maintains him in splendor, it may come in his way to be able to serve our King. The Father speaks very honourably of your Lordship; and truly, I believe from his heart; but I have some probability to guess that the Chancellor has been misrepresented to him (though he does not express it to me) and it may be,

be, he thinks that the Chancellor has too much *A.D. 1655* power with your Lordship. At the *Palais Royal* the Chancellor is freely talked on, and I have heard one whom this Father trusts, think otherwise of the Chancellor than he deserves. It was an old saying, *Atrociter calumniando aliquid beret.* Upon the whole matter, I beg your Lordship's direction, and if you think fit that I should acquaint his Majesty with this Father's proposition, get me leave from his Majesty to write unto him; without which it were too much presumption for me to trouble him immediately; and let me have also your pardon, if I keep the good Father's secret, until I have his leave to communicate it. I beseech your Lordship, add to your Cypher, 635 Father *Dallé*, 636 Cardinal *Antonio*.

Here is an Englishman in this town, who follows some private business from merchants: he has been recommended by *Cromwell*, and is thought to have power with the rebels. *M. Lestrade* got this fellow into his chamber and dealt with him to use his credit with *Cromwell* to consent, that the Duke of *York* might stay in *France*, saying that it would be a very acceptable service to *France*, and that the Duke's going hence might prejudice them more than his Protectorship was aware of. The fellow answered, that he had no hope to persuade *Cromwell*, for he purposed to send an Ambassador hither; but none durst come so long as the Duke of *York* was in *Paris*; the Duke had power with the soldiers, and some of those blades would affront or mischief the Ambassador or his company to gratify the Duke. Some wise men probably guess, that Cardinal *Mazarine* will not have the Duke of *York* go hence, till all the Irish soldiers be drawn into the field out of their garrisons.

Upon further speech with Father *Dallé*, to prevent loss of time, I have adventured to send his proposition here inclosed to his Majesty, wherein I have

A.D. 1655 have presumed to make use of your Lordship's Cypher, which you will be pleased to lend his Majesty, if you shall think it worth the while to deliver my letter to the King: which I wholly submit to your better judgment. I writ not long since to you concerning Sir *Rich. Forster*, and his civilities towards your Lordship. I beseech you to remember him in your own good time. I believe your letters to my Lady Marchioness have miscarried, for it is not long since, she told a friend of mine, that she had not heard from you since she left *Ireland*.

Your Excellency's, &c.

Paris, Feb. 25, 1655.

G. DE COLTON.

The same to the same.

My most honoured Lord,

BEFORE my Lady could have received that from your Lordship I sent to her the last week, I got this inclosed. I was glad to see that you were both in one mind, to do me the honour to serve you in this kind.

My Lord *Muskerry's* servant Mr. *Roch* came the last week in five days from *London* to *Paris*. He tells me, that the last summer the Archduke *Leopold* writ a letter to Don *Alonso de Cardenas*, advertising him of a great design which our King had in *Ireland*: but bids him not to be troubled at it, for it would come to nothing; because *Cromwell* had one at *Cologne*, who acquainted him with the particulars thereof. This advertisement was kept very private, only one man being acquainted there with it, and he obliged by oath not to discover this person at *Cologne*. Of late this man thus sworn acquaints

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quaints Mr. *Roch* with this letter of the Archduke: *A.D. 1635*
but would not by any means name or discover the
false brother who gives intelligence from *Cologne*,
(this was another yet living and not *Manning*.) I
know not what use may be made of such infor-
mations as these are, when they may give occasion
to many vain suspicions, and there may be causeless
malice to raise jealousies against honest men. Yet
Mr. *Roch* being a very trusty understanding man.
I thought not amiss to trouble your Lordship with
this story. If it have any just ground, when you
meet with Don *Alonso*, perhaps he may discover
the intelligencer.

I met lately with an eminent person who passed
by this town privately out of *England*. He told
me, that when my Lord of *Rochester* was last in
England, he declared that it was his Majesty's plea-
sure, that no Papist should be admitted to join with
those that were the last year expected to rise for the
King: which gave great offence not only to the
Papists, but also to many of the King's party, who
were loth to see that the King gives still so much
countenance to the Presbyterian interest, whereto
my Lord of *Rochester* himself has been thought to
incline. I believe there will be no danger of the
like hereafter, if the King of *Spain* promote our
King's interest: yet it will do the King no hurt to
know what the sense of his best subjects is, both of
the Presbyterian party and of those who are but
guessed to favour them.

I hear it from a very probable hand, that *Crom-*
well is jealous of Cardinal *Mazarine*, that he means
not to perform with him. M. de *Bourdeaux* should
have gone back to *England* e're this: and *Whit-*
locke was appointed to have come hither, and so
have gone on to the King of *Sweden*. *Cromwell* is
not satisfied with *Bourdeaux's* delay, and *Whitlocke's*
coming

A.D. 1655 coming hither is thereupon put off for some time.

Your Excellency's, &c.

St. Patrick's day, March 17,
1655.


G. DE COLTON.

The same to the same.

My most honoured Lord,

YESTERDAY Sir R. Forster told me, that Lord *Jermyn* had received for the King 1800 pistoles; which seems to be the last payment for the year that is past; and for the first month of this year 600 pistoles more. But his Lordship saith, that he hath laid all this out and 200 pistoles more, which the King yet oweth him. Howbeit he promiseth to pay Sir *Richard* the 40 pistoles upon the warrant which your Lordship procured. He hath appointed two or three several times for payment of it and failed: yet it is very probable that it will be paid at last.

If your Lordship find not out some other means to redeem the garter, I shall endeavour to get as much here by some or other, as will bring it into my hands; so as it may come, with the chain, when the Duke of *York* goes from hence. If my coming with the Duke may be of any use, I shall endeavour to go along; though I have no mind to hang on, where I have no employment; especially among those who desire my room rather than my company. The Duke is very civil to me, (more avowedly as I think than formerly) but he has no superfluities of money: it is still gone, e're it come; so as I see none yet. Nevertheless I am very well assured, that his intentions are very kind to me, and will be more

more fully expressed, if he find it acceptable to the *A.D. 1655*
King. 

What I writ last to your Lordship and to his Majesty, I writ with some doubtfulness; as you may collect by my letter. I do believe that Father *Dallé* has good affections to the King; but that this proposition comes from the French Court, whereby the King may gather something how they here stand affected to his Majesty's present affairs; which was one reason that emboldened me to write. The good Father lays a great obligation of secrecy upon me; which I strictly observe: yet I find (upon the by) that himself has acquainted two persons more with the business, though he knows not that I know so much. He is accounted by sundry persons to be a very wise man; and so he may be, though as yet I cannot find it. I had a conceit that he meant to have said something concerning his Master's daughter; and others thought so too: but no words come from him hitherto looking that way. He seems to have a great confidence in the abilities and friendship of Cardinal *Antonio*, who came lately to visit the Father at his lodging, and (as he tells me) kept him two hours in discourse about our King: which to me seems to imply something more than to express that his Eminence is Protector of *Ireland*.

Your Excellency's, &c.

Paris, March 10, 1655.

G. DE COLTON.

Extract of Lord Inchiquin's to the M. of Ormonde, from Paris, Apr. 14, 1656.

THE *Portugal* Envoy believes there will be a peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*: and if that prove so, the Envoy will be ready to employ his

A.D. 1656 his endeavours to get assistance for us from his master underhand, if there be any likelihood, that it it may conduce to his Majesty's restitution.

Letter from London to the M. of Ormonde.

THE embargo which hath been already six days is to continue 15 more; by which time it is hoped, our great fleet may be in a readiness to set out; though some are of a contrary opinion; it being certain that there is some discontent as well in the fleet as at *Whitehall*; so that several of the Captains have laid down their commissions refusing to act any more; part of the fleet is already in the *Downs*, and the rest at *Portsmouth*; what effect these mutinies will produce, time must shew.

The Merchant hang down the head, having lately had great losses; if the Exchange news be true, it is said the *Dunkirkers* have taken many prizes, but that is nothing to some losses of ships in the Straights, and near the Bay of *Biscay*, to the number of 6 or 7, as a Merchant interested in the same tells me, who reports the loss to be exceeding great.

Cromwell is at this time very ill of the stone, besides great disorders in his mind, and full of fears; the *Grandeess* and *Courtiers* have much animosity and discontent, &c. It is said they are parting the bear's skin before he be dead, and two or three pretenders to the succession.

There hath been lately some letters from beyond Sea intercepted which give jealousy of some foreign force; and he hath certainly notice given him of a design upon his person. Some say he was to be poisoned, others stabbed, but sure it is that he doth really apprehend it, and endeavours to secure himself by strong guards; and whereas those that waited

on

on his person formerly, had only swords by their *A.D. 1655* sides, they now have pistols also, and so attend him at meals and at other times.

Cromwell hears that the French Cardinal (in some discourse) hath called him a *successful Fool*, which provoked him to passion and a retort, that *Mazarine* was a *juggling Knave*; this is spoke seriously, and some wise men are of opinion, that after the French have served their ends of *Cromwell*, for the present, that peace will be of no longer continuance.

The good reception of the Princess-Royal troubles him, and it is thought the Duke of *York* may continue in *France*, if he please.

Some business will be suddenly set on foot, if *Cromwell* miscarry not; most of the chief officers of the army being come to town, and more expected within a few days; it is the common discourse, that we shall see great alterations shortly.

This week the new life-guard meet together; they are in all 160, chosen out of all the troops in *England*: it is divided into eight squadrons, two whereof do duty every night-watch. One *Beake* (who lately married Mrs. *Whetstone*, one of *Cromwell's* nieces) is Captain of the troop; there are eight Corporals, each of them having Lieutenant's pay; one *Dove* (who was of the last life-guard) is eldest Corporal. It is a fine troop, all proper men, well-armed with back and breast, and have very good horses; the troopers pay is 4s. and 6d. a day; there were none admitted into this troop, but they were first strictly examined, and also their officers were to certify in their behalfs; most of the old life-guard continues still in pay, but some that were suspected for Anabaptists are put off, amongst which there is one *Howard*, who (as I hear) is brother-in-law to Capt. *Howard*; those that are continued have the same pay as the new guard; some

A.D. 1655 of this old guard watch every night with those of the new; but on these is *Cromwell's* greatest confidence.

Some say *Skippon* lays down his commission, and that *Barkstead* is to have his command; but of this no certainty.

We have nothing this week from *Jamaica*; there are some ships lately sent thither, and more going; one Colonel *Bryen* was sent for out of *Scotland* to have gone to *Jamaica*, there to command in chief; but he refuses, and is left behind in town.

Cromwell has caused the agreement with *Sweden* to be printed in the diurnal, some people giving out (as he was informed) that the King of *Sweden* was no great friend unto him, &c.

Feb. 28, 1655-6.

Letter from another hand of the same date.

HERE is an embargo of all ships through the whole Kingdom for 21 days, beginning the 23d instant, which gives as much distaste to the Merchant, as they are vexed at the ships taken by the *Dunkirkers*; especially those merchant-men lost on the coast of *Spain*.

All the ships intended for the Streights are now out of harbour, and the greatest part of them at *Portsmouth*, where the rendezvous is appointed, for the more speedy getting to sea, which doubtless will be out of hand.

Though I wrote in my last, that many officers were come to town, concerning some high affairs, yet have they not met in consultation, nor does their convening make any great noise amongst the people, who are weary of hunting after novelty.

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Besides the massacre on the poor beavers, by that Knight-errant Sir *Tbo. Pride*, there went to the pot also 60 cocks of the game; all this being done for preventing any great meeting of the people.

Cromwell is sick again, especially in his mind; his new guards are met, and watch strictly for his security; some great alterations are suddenly expected, &c.

Whereas we were to send into *France*, one Col. *Cook* with 6000 men, there to secure the French against the Spaniard, the Colonel and the rest of the Commanders would not go, unless the Protector would engage himself, that their army should be paid in *France*, as well and as punctually as it is in *England*; whereupon the Protector writ into *France*, but as yet no satisfactory answer being received, he takes it not well, and perhaps deferring now to send the 6000 men, this coldness may also frustrate the expectation of sending the promised ships.

We are preparing with might and main to go to sea, and stay only for 5 or 600 women more to carry with the fleet; these are now pressing, and we lay hold of all servants out of service, lusty beggars, common women and all such kind of creatures.

It is said that Mr. *Melvin* (who is private Secretary to the Protector) is to go Agent or Resident into *Portugal* with a great train.

It is proposed to *Whitlock*, who began the league with *Sweden*, to go again and reside in the Swedish army or near to it, and perhaps to take *France* in his way thither.

Ditto.

I Thought fit to give you to understand the condition of Mr. *Hallsall*, alias *Moore*: he continues prisoner in the Tower without any proceedings against him as yet. He is fully satisfied that he

A.D. 1655 was betrayed by his man, who at the same time betrayed *Talbot* and *Dungan*; and hath since that time been employed beyond sea by the people at *Whiteball*, and since his return from thence he hath betrayed *Hallsall's* elder brother and his clerk: and we find him very busy in his endeavours to betray others; and when he hath no more work of that nature to be done here, then you may expect him beyond sea again. I believe he will hardly adventure so far as your Court, but do fear he may adventure upon your friend *Mr. Stephens* at *Dunkirk*, with whom he had good credit, and if it continue so, he is sure to be abused by him. Therefore I pray acquaint your Master with this story, that *Stephens* or whomsoever you shall think 'fit do make sure work with him, whereby he may never return. This care being taken of such a rogue will add very much to the security of your friends here. Write no answer hereof to me, for you cannot choose a time of having it safe delivered to my hand, or a messenger that can come with safety that I may trust.

Since I began this letter, I am told of a Dutchman who hath been twice at *Whiteball* from *Cologne*: he was dispatched back with great respect and haste. I can describe him no otherwise, than that he is a black man, not tall, but middle-sized, and went away this week.

London, March 8, 1655-6.

Peter Talbot to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I Received your Excellency's letter of the 25th of *February*, and sent two from *Brussels* the 24th by *Sir Henry de Vic* his way with a cover to *Mr. Harding*. I suppose the Resident hath been desired by *Fuensaldagna* before now to write to the King; if not

not as yet, without doubt themselves will write *A.D. 1655* suddenly to his Majesty, for it concerns them very much to conclude something with him; as yesterday I made appear to *Fuensaldagna* in answer to a letter of his, which gave me occasion to speak of that point. But in case the *Spaniards* should with their *poco a poco* delay, it concerns you there to put them in mind once more of a personal conference; for in all probability within a month, and perhaps less, *Sexby* will be at work. You need not fear any reconciliation between him and *Cromwell*; for he will rather call for the King than fail to pull down *Cromwell*, who I believe will be cut off in the very beginning of the business; so its designed. Don *Alonso de Cardenas* told me, that the King ought to propound first to them. An article concerning religion there must be, by express order from *Spain*. *P. Talbot* was consulted how much should be demanded: he thought that the taking away of penal laws in *England*, and to make good your Excellency's peace in *Ireland*, might be reasonably demanded and granted. All will be kept as secret as you please; and by the articles of religion you may engage them to obtain as much money from the Pope, as perhaps may do your business; this matter being moved and prosecuted to his Holiness not by you, but by them. They have promised me to do it suddenly, as soon as they treat and agree with the King. They expect also, that the Irish of *France* will all come hither, when they own your interest. I do think *Fuensaldagna* and Don *Alonso's* instructions from *Spain* are not to break off with *Sexby*: but draw him if they can to the King. But 'tis certain they are well satisfied that the King's interest is their convenience, and by no means the other, but inasmuch as it breaks the ice for the King. You know yourselves how necessary it is to take your opportunity, and that the best will be within a month; if not

A.D. 1655 to go into *England*, at least to appear here with a considerable army, whereby your enemies will be daunted and your friends encouraged. *Fuensaldagna* is of opinion that *France* will stick to *Cromwell*, and succour him immediately against the King, unless he be pulled down suddenly. My Lord, I have no more to say, but that by what I know of *Sexby's* business, it's very necessary you make all haste to appear here with some body of an army of his Majesty's subjects, and be sure *Fuensaldagna* and Don *Alonso* will concur to that, and to transport them with as much speed as they can. Perhaps I will be at *Brussels* within three days, and I shall not fail to put *Fuensaldagna* and Don *Alonso* in mind of how much they are concerned in the restoring of his Majesty to his own. I am,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

THOMAS GREEN,

As for the excommunication, my Lord, *Fuensaldagna* and Don *Alonso* have promised me faithfully to banish from this country any person who shall presume to sow sedition upon that subject, or at least to take such a course with them as shall make them sit and beg their bread quietly. They have abused the Pope in a high degree by falsifying a petition in his Majesty's subjects name, against which if they who are concerned will but protest by a publick instrument, it will oblige his Holiness to punish these factious fellows as impostors. It's a capital crime in *Rome* to inform the Pope falsely, and counterfeiting other men's hands, as I have seen in one *Ferrall*, who was nine months in prison, and every day to be executed for counterfeiting a Monk's hand. What then of such as counterfeit the hands of a whole nation, in a matter which concerns all
love.

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sovereign Princes. They do tremble here, and *A.D. 1655*
the Irish Provincial of the *Augustin's* came to
give me satisfaction. They all say it was *Enos* the
Cobler or Baker's son of *Dublin*, who lives in
Louvain, President of a kind of a poor College
of Irish, supported there by the Dean of *Fermo*.
His employment (as I am credibly informed) is
to write libels or a history, wherein he endeavours
to prove that most of the Nobility and
Gentry, who (according to their duty) did stick
to his Majesty's authority, are descended of mean
and base fellows. The man is very ignorant
though he styles himself a Doctor. I despair not
within a little time to have a course taken for
him.

The aim of this people was (as they declare themselves in a preface which they printed to the Pope's Bull) to declare contumacious and incapable all officers (who would not confess themselves to be excommunicated for being faithful to their King) of serving or having command in any catholick army; to the end none might have power or be considerable, but some few inconsiderable persons of their own faction. They affront in the same preface the Bishops, Jesuits and all other Clergy, which stood for his Majesty against the Nuncio.

Antwerp, Feb. 29, 1655.

Mr. Thurloe to General Mountague.

S I R,

I HAD the honour of yours of the 2d instant, which I communicated to his Highness, whose sense thereupon will be made known to you by General *Desbrowe*; which was thought a better way of doing it than by writing; so that I shall not trouble you with any thing further upon that subject.

G 4

By

A.D. 1655 By some letters which I have lately seen, it is too evident, that the finger of *Job*, viz. *Spain*, is in all this business. One of them expressly saith, that some other Captains were to lay down, and there is money sent over hither by the Archduke on purpose to seduce the officers and mariners from their duty; and this I write not upon guess and probability, but upon certain knowledge; and those who shew themselves dissatisfied, do it by correspondence with those who receive letters weekly from *Brussels*; and it is possible that by the next I may give you such plain demonstrations thereof, that no man will doubt it. This sometimes makes me suspect, that the design is laid further in the fleet than in two Captains; but the prudence you have shewed in dealing with these, may (I hope) at least discourage the rest.

The Vice-Admiral went from hence this morning towards *Portsmouth*, he was with me the last night, and expresseth much readiness and cheerfulness to serve,

Orders were signed for the setting at liberty *Harrison*: but are now for the present suspended.

As for those ships which are left behind, I suppose that the Commissioners of the Admiralty will give you an account of them, and therefore I shall not trouble you with that.

We have not much foreign news. The condition of the *Switzers* is much as when you left us; an accommodation is that which is inclined to amongst them, and is much laboured by the French. The general peace between the Popish party advanceth. The King of *Spain* hath now a Minister at *Paris*, and the Cardinal hath sent another into *Spain*. But no man does believe that these overtures are cordial on either side; certain it is, that *Spain* is in a very low condition, and will yet be lower, I hope, if it please the Lord to bless your
ex-

expedition. I am bold to refer you to the print for *A.D. 1655* the ordinary news, as any thing doth occur, you shall be sure to have it from your most obliged faithful, humble, &c.

March 4, 1655.

JO. THURLOE.

Letter to the M. of Ormonde from London.

IF you knew what great disorders were at this time in this Court, you would think it impossible that our present government should continue. *Lambert* is now remarkably the army's darling, and the only person courted; it lies in his power to raise *Oliver* higher, or else to set up in his place. One of the Council's opinion being asked, *what he thought Lambert did intend*, his answer was, that he did believe, *that Lambert would let this man continue Protector; but that he would rule him as he pleased*, which it is said he may do as long as he hath the army at his devotion. *Lambert* hath acted more these three last weeks than he hath done in all his time before: he is daily in Council and carries all before him as he thinks best.

Lockyer goes Ambassador for *France*, (with *Lambert's* consent) but with him he sends (the best part of himself) his Secretary, who is a most dangerous fellow. There ought to be some course taken with him, for he is a subtle villain, and a man that hath a great hand in the affairs of this time, I shall let you know more of this Man hereafter.

Lambert made choice of all the new life-guard, and they are absolutely his creatures.

About seven days since, the Protector sent for *Lambert* to come to him, who returned answer that he was not well; the Protector sent a second and third time, by the same messenger, who still returned the same

A.D. 1655 same answer; then *Cromwell* sent another messenger the 4th time, but *Lambert* would not go: which put *Cromwell* into an extraordinary rage: some say he is many times like one distracted, and in those fits he will run round about the house and into the garden, or else ride out with very little company, which he never doth when he is composed and free from disorder: Friday last a friend met him in *St. James's Park* with only one man with him, and in a distempered carriage; if any people offered to deliver him petitions, or the like, he refused, and told them he had other things to think of; *Fleetwood* was in the park at the same time, but walked at a distance, not daring to approach him in his passion: which (they say) was occasioned by some carriage of *Lambert's*; this you may give credit to.

This day the embargo ended, but another is talked of for 20 days more. You may have heard that one whose name (as I take it) is *Meadows*; went from *Portsmouth* towards *Portugal* a fortnight ago: It is here said the Portuguese refuse our ships harbour; and that in the articles of agreement, (which not long ago they sent hither ratified) they had left out some particulars of great concernment to this kingdom; hereupon this fellow (who is a kind of Secretary) is sent away to settle a better understanding; some are of opinion that our fleet will not venture on that voyage, till we hear what success *Meadows* hath.

It is believed that the Dutch and we must of necessity quarrel; neither do we think ourselves very sure of *France*, nor indeed of *Sweden*, but only to serve their purposes at present.

There are some disorders in the fleet, many of the seamen refuse to go unless they may first know their design: the new frigate (called the *Naseby*) doth not sail well, and it is thought will not be very ser-

serviceable; the *Speaker* hath been foully battered *A.D. 1655* at sea, by some private men of war; the *Pelican* burnt about a month since; the *Diamond* unserviceable by some accident that happened; and a ship of 26 guns carried away by the *Dunkirkers*, (as we here report) so that five of our fleet are already wanting. But our great want is money; *Cromwell* sent his Privy-Seal to the Commissioners of the Custom-house for a vast sum, but it is believed it cannot be suddenly made up.

The next week the Major-General makes his search in the city for Royalists, who will be forced to give in security as those of *Middlesex* have done. The rich men grow fearful of the Privy-Seal, if they refuse to contribute, there will be ways found out to make them; *Barkstead* is a most severe man and no ordinary security will serve.

Many Gentlemen are leaving the town, choosing rather to fall into the hands of the country Major-Generals than his.

People talk again of a massacre; many think of getting out of *England* with as much speed as may be, and some of them, that (till this instant) never thought of going beyond sea.

Here is a report that the Spanish fleet is come home: but no certainty at present.

March 13, 1655-6.

From another hand of the same date.

OUR fleet is not yet put to sea, lying still at *Portsmouth*, some say they have not their full proportion of men and victualling. There is some disorder amongst the seamen. It is feared *Portugal* will refuse us their ports; whereupon we have sent an express lately thither, on whose success we much depend,

Here

A.D. 1655 Here is a report of the coming home of the *Galleons*, but no certainty; we have it from *France*.

Here is a bruit about town, that the *Dunkirkers* have taken a small frigate of ours near *Dover*.

Colonel *Lockyer* (who married a kinswoman of *Cromwell's*) goes Ambassador into *France*.

Here are great distempers in our court; *Cromwell* full of jealousy and discontent: and *Lambert* like to carry all before him.

Here is a great rumour of an intended massacre on the Royal Party, and those that are well affected towards the King; it makes many resolve, not only to leave the town, but the kingdom also, on what ground this is I cannot inform you, nevertheless for this cause are the Major-Generals now beginning to act in the city; I shall go into the country for a fortnight; by that time (I hope) the heat of their prosecution will be abated in the city.

They are here in great want of money, which puts us into great disorders.

Mr. Thurloe to General Montague.

Honourable Sir,

I HAVE very little more to trouble you with by this, than to thank you for the favour of yours by Mr. *Turner*; whereby I perceive you have turned out the Lieutenant of the *Resolution*, which is judged here to be very necessary: and now we hope the fleet is free of that infection.

I received the enclosed this day by the way of *France*, what certainty there is of it, I can give no great assurance, but must expect other letters: the last I had from *Spain* say, that they do very much hasten their preparations, and that their fleet bound for the *West-Indies* will very shortly depart from *Cadiz*.

Just now I have received letters from Geneva, *A.D. 1655* whereby I see that the peace is concluded between the Protestant and Popish Cantons of *Switzerland*: the terms we expect by the next.

I also find by my letters from *France*, that there is some advance made in the treaty between that kingdom and *Spain*; insomuch that it is probable they may agree of a truce for six years.

I hear nothing of the affairs of *Sweden*; *Charles Stewart* and his train are come into *Flanders*. I have nothing else but the assurance of my being your most humble, &c.

Whiteball, March 13, 1655.

JO. THURLOE.

Letter from London sent to the M. of Ormonde.

THOUGH in my last I told you, I had thoughts for the country, yet the deferring to put the Major-General's power in execution in the city (to which it gives great distaste) makes me intend to continue still in town. There is come forth a Declaration for a day of Humiliation; I have inclosed one of them. The loyal western Gentlemen have got their sentence of perpetual banishment into the *West-Indies*, changed into seven years confinement in the *East-Indies*, whither they are now going. I am credibly informed, that *Cromwell* intends to send all men who live out of service, or employment in city or country, beyond sea, except they follow a lawful trade or have 4*l.* per Ann.

On Saturday last there happened an unfortunate business betwixt Sir *Tho. Wortley*, and young *Ralph Skipwith*, about his sister got with child by *Wortley*, who meeting over-against *York-house*, discharged

A.D. 1655 a pistol at each other; the Knight dyed without speaking a word, the other fled to *Dickeson* the Chirurgion's house, both for securing his person and dressing his wound, which is through his lungs.

Here are great fears on all sides; *Cromwell* is much disturbed at the King's coming into *Flanders*; and the Royal Party, at some of *Cromwell's* threats against them.

Harrison and *Rich* had an order granted to be released: but there is a stop of the signing of it.

Sunday last here were many horses seized on by the soldiers, and brought to the Tower, by reason of the grooms breaking the sabbath in riding them abroad; there was 10 s. a-piece paid the next day for their release.

The frigate, mentioned in my last as taken by the *Dunkirkers*, proves a small merchant-man, laden with Currans, it was seized on in the channel, and carried to *St. Sebastian's*.

There went lately hence a messenger to *Portugal* to require performance of articles, which if deferred any longer, will cause a breach; it is believed their *Brazil* fleet may be in danger.

Here is lately grown a feud betwixt the magistrates of the city, and the officers of the army, about the committing some disorderly soldiers to the counter; which was highly resented by the army men, who sent presently two or three files of musketeers, and took as many serjeants from the Counter-goal, and committed them to the Marshalls; some of the Aldermen have wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower about it, but have had no redress; so they intend to make application to *Whitehall*, though it will be to small purpose, the soldiers resolving to out-brave all persons that are not highly interested with them.

The loyal Clergy cannot yet obtain leave for the exercise of their function; nothing but relinquish-
ing

ing the Royal Family, and acknowledging this usurpation lawful, can purchase it, which they account too hard a bargain. *A.D. 1655*

The Fleet the 15th instant weighed anchor from *Portsmouth*, but had so little wind that it is thought they have not cleared the *Lands-end*, and we are here of opinion, they had as good stay at home; for the arrival of the *Plate-Fleet*, is still confirmed, though they at *Whitehall* gainsay it, and doubt not but our ships will be in the *Streights* before them.

No less than five sea Captains laid down their Commissions at *Portsmouth*, which made the business go something backwards: here is a report that our Fleet is returned.

The letters are so constantly searched, that this and my last were sent to a friend in *Kent* to be put in the mail by the way, so that I cannot give you the news of Friday.

London, March 31, 1655.

Mr. Thurloe to General Montague.

S I R,

S I R *Gilbert Pickering* hath shewed me a letter from yourself concerning the Marquis and his brother, wherein I had received your commands before, and truly did what lay in me to procure some resolution therein: but it is so hard during the Parliament's sitting to get a Committee together, that I despair of seeing any thing done by that means; and therefore intend to move his Highness for his personal commands in it, which I shall communicate to you by the next post. The Parliament is now engaged upon the business of *Decimation*; by the last we had thereof yesterday, it

A.D. 1655 it will prove a very difficult question, three or four persons having spoke against it with very great freedom. The debate was adjourned till this day; but the Speaker being very ill, the House is adjourned till Monday morning, when that business is again to be resumed. We have no news at all from the Fleet or foreign parts. I am most friendly

Yours, &c.

JOHN THURLOE.

Mr. Thurloe to Genaral Montague.

S I R,

TH E chief errand of this is to thank you for your two last; the one by Mr. *Turner*, the other by Mr. *Pickering*; and also to let you know, how great a mercy it is esteemed here that you are safe with the Fleet in *Torbay*, considering how great the storms have been since the wind hath come into this quarter. If the weather hath been with you as it hath been with us, we judge you to have been in great danger, and blessed be God who hath preserved you.

Our affairs here remain much at one stay: most of the time since your departure from *Portsmouth* hath been spent in taking a view of the state of affairs, especially in what concerned the present charge, and the ways and means to be supplied. The first doth easily occur; the latter is not so easy: but I think every body is of opinion it must be had, and besides the four great ships which are making ready, there will be others put in hand, which may answer any exigent that may fall out, either with you or elsewhere.

There were letters from *France* two posts together,

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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ther, that brought intelligence of the arrival of the *A.D. 1656*
Spanish plate Fleet: but the last letters do con-
tradict that, and speak as if there was some miscar-
riage befallen in their passage, as they disembogued.
For their preparations at *Gadiz*, the intelligence al-
ters not in that from the former letters, which have
been communicated to you.

Charles Stewart is come into *Flanders*, and
speaks much of the prizes he will take wherewith
to maintain war against us. It is certain the peace
is made between the Popish and Protestant Cantons,
and their forces disbanded. We had a packet from
Jamaica this week: but it was but a Duplicate
of those letters, which we received about two
months since, and came by the way of the *Barba-*
does. All that we hear new by them, is that the
Marston-Moore and *Indian* arrived safe at the *Bar-*
badoes, and were departed thence for *Jamaica*. I
beseech the Lord to be present with you, and give
you good success: which is the hearty prayers of

March 25,
1656.

Yours, &c.

JOHN THURLOE.

Mr. Walsingham to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

I F I should have followed the dictamens of my
own reason, and the impulses of my inclination,
I should often since I writ last, have waited upon
you with my letters e're now. But considering
that I could say no more than make you the empty
tender of a service that is most sincerely at your
devotion, I forbore presuming upon the noble and
candid interpretations you will make upon silence

Vol. II.

H

out

A.D. 1656 out of the circumstances I am in. Yet now I cannot forbear to advertise you of a piece of news that (I hope) will not be displeasing to neither the King nor you, nor Mr. *Chancellor*, to wit, that *F. Barton* is made Provincial of his order and will suddenly come into these parts: which is an accident that I look upon as a fortunate omen in this conjuncture of counsels and interests which I hope will be between his Majesty and *Spain*; that a person so truly affectionate to his Majesty's interests, and who is so well and rightly possessed of the knowledge of all persons about him, should now happen into this active and considerable charge, wherein he will have means of doing very effectual service; and that he wants no will to serve and oblige your Excellence in particular. I dare assure you, I thought fit to give you this advertisement beforehand, that you may not be surprized with the news at unawares, and that you may consider how to receive him in the most obliging manner, but privately and without noise, by reason of their concerns in *England*, which would run hazard should they appear visibly about the King or you.

I take occasion to send you the latter part of a copy of a letter writ in answer to another, the subject whereof you will guess at by reading of this. I believe you will be as glad to see it, as I was of the occasion to serve you in doing you justice. My Lord's affairs are in a hard crisis: but I hope he will at least get off safe hence in few days; for I like not their intentions towards him. As soon as he is free he will make you amends for his so long and studied silence. I beseech you burn my letter for both his and your own sake, as well as that of *Ec.*

March 30, 1656.

WALSINGHAM.

Copy

Copy inclosed of a Letter from an English Roman Catholick, Feb. 20 1655-6, in answer to a Nobleman's of the Court of Bruffells of Feb. 2.

ALL this considered, it is evident how unreasonable it is to press his declaring, (tho' he were convinced) in this conjuncture, and how necessary it is to suffer him still to head that party he hath so long courted, and so tenderly endeavoured to preserve: which he cannot do, if he either declare for us, or strip himself of all his present Council, especially those two he at present most relies on.

For *Cromwell's* condition, fortified as it is with so strict a league with *France* and *Sweden*, and a peace with the Dutch, is so considerable that the *Spaniards* will have need of all the help the King can bring, by taking the most likely way of making parties and creating stirs in *England* by his own managing the Protestant and Royal Party, and suffering one of his brothers to do as much with some other party whatever it be, Independent, Leveller, or Presbyterian, so it be but capable to raise distractions and kindle a fire of division in the kingdom.

As for us, all we can in reason and prudence demand at present is, that after having removed from his person and affairs such as he can be convinced are false to his service, or enemies to those who must now support his Majesty, and principally contribute to his restoring, to wit, the *Spaniards*; he will please to take about him into his confidence some one or more such persons as we the Catholicks are satisfied with and will trust, and these, if such are to be found, ought to be such as the King is assured of their fidelity to him, and who are in good intel-

A.D. 1656 intelligence with those now he principally trusts. I do concur with you in opinion, that if his youngest brother were suffered to be bred a Chatholick, the King might draw great advantage from it, provided it can be so contrived, as that the King may appear at home to have had no share in the design; for otherwise both his Majesty and we shall lose the fruits of it: and therefore if that cannot be, I would not have it insisted upon, though it be the most solid security he can give us for the performance of those graces and favours he shall please to promise us in case of his restoring.

There remains only for me now to represent to you not only the injustice to remove from the King those, who have with the loss of their fortunes served all along with an unblemished fidelity, but also the prejudice and danger there will be to lay aside those who have the full possession of all his business and the prime interest with his party, who perhaps are so addicted to those men, as they will trust or be managed by none but them. Of whom since you press me so much to speak my sentiments, I will do it with all the candour and sincerity imaginable; since I do believe I shall do neither the King nor them no disservice, and shall pleasure you for whom I have so great respect and duty.

My Lord of *Ormonde* I have now for some years had the honour to know and frequent; and do protest that of all the great men living, I do believe him to be the most full of honour, integrity and nobleness of nature, and the person of all others I would soonest trust or wish to have to do with. As for his inclinations to religion, I think him steady in his own, and that more out of the constancy of his humour, than out of any dangerous and fundamental defects he believes to be in ours, to which all the prejudice he hath I could never find mingled with any bitterness or malice. You ought not, if you

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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you will believe me, to found any judgment of ^{A.D. 1656} him upon the clamours of his own Countrymen, who are for the most part so unreasonably partial, and so foully unjust unto him, that if you knew as well as I, how ill he merits so unworthy measures from their hands, you would conceive no less indignation against them, than compassion towards him.

As for his friend the Chancellor, whose passion and violence you seem so much to apprehend, I shall perhaps grant you, that it was possible he might have pursued the same ends and done the same things he does, with less exterior heat and vehemence: yet you must give me leave to tell you, that one who is made the object of the publick hate, and the subject of the common persecution, shall have much to do to shew no passion and never be surprized in ill humour. Besides, it is possible he may think it for the King's interest and service, to shew more zeal and eagerness than he hath really within him. But grant that at worst he be of a hot and hasty temper; when I shall tell you that I think him notwithstanding a very upright, honest, worthy Gentleman, able for the trusts he hath, and faithful to his Master, you will forgive him, if I add that which to you will be an argument of commendation, I think him much more Spanish than French in his affection. The former I cannot so well guess at in this particular: but am sure, that whatever nation or interest is most friendly and useful to the King, he will be faithful and affectionate unto; and that I will answer in for few others near his Majesty.

The three others you mention next in your letter, I wholly am of your opinion concerning; and therefore think it needless to say any more of them. But as for these two, out of justice to you and them, I was obliged to say thus much, since you seem to persuade me, that my sentiments will be of some weight with you upon this occasion. *Mr.*

Original Letters and Papers

Mr. Thurloe to General Montague.

Honourable Sir,

HIS Highness's letter to you both will inform you of the occasion of sending Captain *Lloyd* to you at this time; and therefore I shall trouble you with nothing touching that business: nor need I trouble you with any news concerning *Spain*, our last intelligence being only, That two of their Gallies and two Pattachoes are come from the *West-Indies*, and that their whole Fleet, consisting of thirty good ships besides smaller, are in *Cadiz* in no condition to come to sea; nor were they at the time our letters came from thence preparing them. His preparations here in *Flanders* do also go on very slowly; they being yet in great want of money: besides they make a great alteration in the Government which doth retard their affairs. The Archduke leaves *Flanders* and goes for *Germany*. In his room comes Don *John D'Austria* bastard son of the King of *Spain*: *Fuensaldagna* the General goes for *Spain*, and *Caracena* succeeds him in that Command. They hope to have a good supply of men from *Germany*. The Emperor having disbanded his forces, they are taken into the service of the King of *Spain*: Of these they expect 15000 for this campaign. The pretended King is at *Bruges*, and hath been treating with the Archduke: something he hath obtained, as liberty of their Ports to exercise his piracy in, and a promise to be supplied with men and money to begin an invasion with. He on his part puts himself and his cause into the hands of the King of *Spain* to be managed by him, and hath declared himself in private to them to be a Roman Catholick, as they call it. But the full conclusion of their treaty is deferred until the arrival of Don *John*, who will be there in a very few days,


days, if he be not already come. In the mean ^{A.D. 1656} time *Charles Stewart* on his part hath assured his friends here of great supplies and advantages by his conjunction with the *Spaniard*, and begs money of them for his support but for two months, and then he shall be able to answer their expectation and pursue his and their interest; he having, besides his own party, fully agreed with the Levellers who also are to fight under the Flagg of *Spain*, from whom they have got a great sum of money to raise forces here, a good part whereof is fallen through the goodness of God into our hands, so that I speak not at guess in this business. The person whom they had made their Treasurer here, and in whose hands we found the money, is a seaman and a great confidant of *Lawson's* and those who deserted their commands: and it is certain, that this money was given by the *Spaniard* upon this undertaking of *Sexby*, that the Fleet with you should revolt before they went from *Portsmouth*. This being joined to what you knew before your departure hence, it is not hard to judge of the spirits of these pretenders to honesty.

Our own affairs here remain much in the same posture as when you went hence. We are struggling under the want of money, and remain yet doubtful of the means to raise it. Many considerations have been about it, and now at this time things seem to come to a greater maturity than formerly: what is agreed upon, you shall be informed of. In the mean time care is taken to put some of the great ships into a readiness, in case you should want them, every body's mind being that whatever is neglected, you must not, who are in the head of our greatest affairs. The Protector and Council have lately assigned all the moneys arising by the Excise and Customs to the use of the Navy, and to be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy.

AD. 1656 There hath been also much seeking of the Lord about the business of *Jamaica*, and some days spent to consider what may be further to be done therein: and it was unanimously agreed, that it was not to be deserted, if the Lord will yet please to take off his hand of sickness from them, (hopes being given therein by the last letters of the 24th of *Jan.* whereof you had an account before you left this coast as I remember.) And it is resolved to send away 1200 men more, and four months provisions for 6000 men. He that goes to command in chief is one Lieutenant Col. *Brayne*, Governor of *Loughaber* in *Scotland*, who is judged by every body to be a very fit man for this work.

Things continue outwardly in a very quiet posture: but it is certain that the Levellers are designing troubles as I said before: and the fifth Monarchy men are railing and reviling in every corner: but their own party desert them every day. Some meetings they have in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and pretend to represent whole Churches; and there they draw up letters to his Highness, and consult the putting of the affairs of the world into another posture: but when the matter comes to be framed, it appears that they are only some discontented men (some fifteen or twenty) doing things upon their own head whom the Churches they belong to disown, as violent, unruly and disorderly. *Harrison* is at his house in *Highbury*: the rest of his partners yet in prison.

We have had here for some weeks together a very confident story told by all hands of a total defeat of the K. of *Sweden* given him by the King of *Poland*: but it is so far from being true, that there hath been no battle between them. Some parties have engaged wherein I fear the Swede hath had the worst: he is somewhat retreated with his army to a place called *Sandomir* upon the *Vistula*; and I doubt

doubt he will meet with many difficulties more to *A.D. 1656*
 keep his conquests than he had to make them. 
 The King of *Poland* hath wrote to the States General, to let them know that he hath agreed fully with the Cossacks, and expects also good supplies from the Tartars; so that he hopes to be in a very good condition for the recovery of his dominions, and desires them to help *Dantzick*, who is disposed to hold out to extremity. Things are also very ill between the Swede and Muscovites, that it is very like they will fall into a war. These things make me think, that the Swede is like to have a hot summer of it; especially if we add to what is said before, that the States General are sending forty eight ships into the Baltick sea to oppose him also, and are labouring all they can to engage *Denmark* with them. Some of the 48 ships are already sailed: but yet nothing is pretended by them but fairness, and to have no intention but to preserve their navigation and commerce; but the Swede know their meaning. The endeavours they used here to engage this State also before your departure hence you know: they yet continue their instances. The King of *Denmark* hath also writ to his Highness upon the same subject, though in covert terms. The best advice his Highness seems to follow in this case is, to use his endeavours to keep them from falling out, upon grounds of common good to the Protestant interest, and in order thereto to remain a common friend to them all.

The peace between the Protestant and Popish Cantons yet continues: it depends upon the agreement which shall be made between the arbitrators (who are persons of both religions) appointed to adjust their differences. It is held by all, that the peace is very dishonourable in the part of the Protestants.

The general peace seems to have received some
 obstruction,

A.D. 1656 obstruction. The Pope hath shewed himself so partial on the part of *Spain*, and stirred up the Clergy of *France* to necessitate that King to a peace by clamour and importune addressses, that the King of *France* hath declared his infallible Holiness no competent mediator, but too partial on one side; and therefore will not proceed in that treaty further upon the foot it now stands; and Monsieur de *Lyons* the French Ambassador at *Rome* is come away. There was also great tampering to agree *Spain* and *Portugal*: but that comes to nothing. We have heard nothing from Mr. *Meadows* sent to *Portugal* since he went. Colonel *Lockart* went away from *France* upon Monday was sevensnight; his errand is to interpose on the behalf of the poor *Waldenses*, who are made very miserable by the late peace: and the Duke of *Savoy* hath referred that whole business to the French King. I must now ask your pardon for this excessive long scribble of mine, and leave to subscribe me, as I am in truth

Yours, &c.

Whitehall, April 28, 1656.

JOHN THURLOE,

The beginning of *March* there went from *Cadiz* 27 ships for the *West-Indies*; ten whereof men of war, and the rest merchant-men.

John Thurloe to General Montague,

Honourable Sir,

I Return you humble thanks for the two letters I received from you, since you went to sea; one was the 5th of *April* 40 leagues off the rocks of *Lisbon*, the other of the 15th of the same month from

from off Cape *St. Mary's*. The latter came to my *A.D. 1656* hands first, which was the 2d instant, brought by an exprefs from *Lisbon*, the other I received about two days after. The same day I received that of the 15th, his Highness received a packet from you by an exprefs of the 15th also, which you sent, (the name of the ship I have now forgot) whereby was expreffed your condition and present thoughts, as to any action; and we here having had the same intelligence which you sent by those letters: it did occasion his Highness, and the Council to send an exprefs unto you, (*viz.* Captain *Lloyd*) to offer some considerations to you; such as fell upon their thoughts, weighing the posture you were in. This exprefs was sent away about three days before your letters came. By those letters we saw, that you had in some measure, by your consultations at least prevented much of what his Highness had writ to you about; so that we had little to do, but to seek the Lord on your behalf, and to wait on his good pleasure, what issue he would put to your counsels and actions.

Upon Saturday morning the 3d of *May* came an exprefs from Mr. *Meadows* from *Lisbon*, giving an account at large of his whole negotiation, which was such, as in the opinion of his Highness and Council rendred an agreement with that King altogether hopeles; although, truly, Mr. *Meadows* had done his part very well. The state of that business his Highness hath fully explained in a letter to you both, so that I may save you the trouble of repetition; the further instruction will also let you see what resolutions his Highness and Council have taken hereupon. The measure they have taken of this business is this; their aim and scope is a peace with *Portugal*, the reasons whereof are obvious (considering our posture :) that is not to be had by a treaty at this time; much less will it be when he

A.D. 1656 he hath got home his fleets from the *East* and *West-Indies*; therefore they thought it incumbent upon them here not to let slip the opportunity of seizing upon those fleets, which certainly will bring him to reason; and so to do it that we might be sure to strike him to the heart, or else not to strike at all. And this also is conceived may be done without neglecting any thing, which may be done upon *Spain*, considering the posture they are in; especially if the Lord hath been with you in any attempt which may have been made upon him. I suppose you have a certain intelligence what strength the *Portugal* fleet bound from *Brazil* consist of: Mr. *Meadows* writes to me that they have about 11 or 12 men of war with them, besides the strength that some of the merchant-men may be of, and the galleons from the *East-Indies* are strong, but they are not many; but I shall not give you further trouble upon this subject.

It hath pleased God, somewhat to amend the state of affairs at *Jamaica*, as to the health of the men; as you will see by the copy of the letters writ to his Highness, by Captain *Goodsen* and Major *Sedgewick*, which I have inclosed in the letter, which I have been bold to write to both of you. This gives some encouragement that God will yet own that work, and put us on to the more speedy sending of supplies, whereof you had an account by my last.

My foreign news is not much this week; the affairs of *Sweden* remain as they did, some kind of stop being put to the proceedings of that King, as I fear, we expect a greater certainty from thence by the next letters. The Dutch have ordered their 48 ships of war into the Sound; at the same time they have also sent their Ambassadors to the King of *Sweden*, intending as it seems to fight and treat both at once, at least to have their swords in their hands. Our affairs here jog on as they were wont;

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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sometimes we think we are in the fight of money, *A.D. 1656*
other times it is out of fight: but more hours are
spent in consideration of our whole state than ever,
and I trust somewhat will come of it at last. The
Lord be with you, and give you always good hope
through grace, so prays yours, &c.

May 6, 1656.

JOHN THURLOE.

The copy of the instruction to Mr. *Meadows* is sent
you, only to let you see what orders he has, and
is not intended that you should delay the execu-
tion of your instructions till the 5th day be out,
or indeed one hour; his Highness's meaning be-
ing that the very first opportunity of serving should
be taken. It will be necessary that a frigate may
ride so, as to take in Mr. *Meadows* to bring him
away, and that he may have notice where she
lies.

Yours, &c.

JOHN THURLOE.

J. Thurloe to General Montague.

Honourable Sir,

I HAVE very little to add to what is contained
in my letter to you both; that which I have
more to say is under secrecy, and therefore desire
you will please to decypher this letter yourself, and
to keep it secret. Some considerations have been for
procuring money. the c a l-

302. The result is 407. 28. 31. 33
l ing a P a r l i a m e n t:
5. 253. 7. 47. 55. 12. 33. 31. 16. 18. 27. 50.
the

AD. 1656 the time is not f e t yet:

407. 408. 259. 320. 23. 18. 6. 479. but I be-
it will in O c to b e r.

lieve 258. 460. be 251. 19. 9. 50. 36. 18. 12.
What the reasons are for this resolution, I cannot
put down in a letter without much trouble to you;
there being a necessity that things of this nature be
writ in cyphers. I will only tell you that this is
done unanimously. The Major-Generals are also
here and have fully consented to it: and it's thought
that there is that care taken which will answer our
want of mo ney till then.

451. 343. 301. 104. 416. 414.

I suppose you know that Col. *Lockart* is at the
court of *France*, where he is very much respected.

Cardinal *Mazarine* hath offer ed to b e-
601. 233 351. 18. 11. 404. 36. 18.

f e i g e M a r-
23. 42. 8. 20. 18. 15. 92. 102. 55. 82. 103.

d y k e a t land if this
80. 58. 100. 93. 7. 10. 6. 279. 254. 412.

S t a t e will do it at
23. 50. 31. 50. 18. 460. 161. 258. 107.

f e a deliver it in to
23. 56. 83. and to 172. 258. 251. 404.

o u r hands.
19. 26. 12. 245.

This is accepted on this part, if other reasonable
terms will be consented to, which will be very
shortly known. This is also a secret and not to be
communicated.

We are like to agree with *Sweden*, upon our or-
dinary treaty of commerce: but that of the close al-
liance doth much advance.

I had a letter from you by a Merchant of the
9th of *May*; which is all I have received since that
of the 15th of *April*; which I mention to the end
that you may know, that if you have writ any other
they are not come to my hands.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

III

I beseech the Lord to be present with you in the *A.D. 1656*
great work you are upon. I am, honourable Sir,

Yours, &c.

Whitehall, Jan 10, 1656.

JOHN THURLOE.

J. Thurloe to General Montague.

S I R,

THERE have been many considerations here about the disposing of the fleet; at last the resolutions are taken, which are contained in his Highness's letter, which comes herewith: and I have not observed any thing upon the debate thereof, which will be of use to be added to what his Highness has writ.

For our affairs here, we remain much in the same posture that we were in upon Captain *Lloyd's* coming to you; save that now the Parliament is coming on; the Elections are all made, or very near, you will see who they be by the enclosed print, and be able to judge what quarter we are like to have with them: great professions are made on every side to come disposed to settlement, and to do all reasonable things: and the truth is, the people have so great a mind to it that those, who were suspected to be dissatisfied with the present Government, were forced industriously to give it out, that their minds were altered, and that they were for the Government now, or they could not have been chosen.

There have been of late some very strong combinations to put us into blood, by the Levelling-party and the 5th Monarchy-men, who had several meetings to unite one another in principles, to make way for a conjunction in arms. Several of them were apprehended, as *Lawson, Okey, Lyons, Col.*

A.D. 1656 Rich, and one *Vinter*, and also one *Lea*, *Portman*, and others, which were the leading men in these matters. Sir *Henry Vane* was also sent for to answer his writing of a book, propounding a new government to the people. He was before the Council and there owned his writing of it: but yet in very dark and mysterious terms, as his manner is; he is ordered to give security for his peaceable carriage, and in case of refusal so to do, to stand committed; I believe he will not give any security. Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* stands upon the same terms. There was a necessity not only for peace sake to do this, but to let the nation see, those that governed are in good earnest, and intend not to quit the government wholly into the hands of the Parliament, as some would needs make the world believe.

I did the best I could to execute the commands I had in one of yours, concerning the election in *Huntingdonshire*, as Sir *Gilbert Pickering* will bear me witness; how it both succeeded, the aforesaid printed paper will let you see.

The Spaniard hath had great success in *Flanders* this year against the French. To that of raising the siege of *Valenciennes*, he has added the taking of *Condé*, and is very likely to lodge himself this year in *France*; so that the Cardinal hath not been able to draw any army to the sea coast, as was intended, being scarce able to defend his own country. We have some 14 or 12 frigates lying before *Dunkirk* and *Ostend*; but to no other effect than to keep in their pirates, wherein they do something but not so effectually as were to be wished; however of late, what with these and what with the convoys, we make shift to preserve the trade. I have not heard of the taking of a ship these many weeks, and the trade hath been so good for some months together, that the Commissioners of the Admiralty have received out of the Customs and Excises 17 or 18000*l.*

a week; so that no man may pass by *Clerks* without *A.D. 1656* hearing of him speak a word of money, and their credit is so grown, that any body will trust them.

I do not like the carriage of the *Hollanders*; our ships of war and theirs scarce ever meet in the channel but they have some scuffle or other. The last week there came into *Torbay* some fifty merchant-men of theirs under three convoys; where they carried themselves so insolently, that there was little less than a fight between our and their men of war: the story is too long to tell you, and I suppose you will have something of it from the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

And certainly if the greatest part of their strength were not in the *Baltick* sea, I fear we should hear of them; the state of which business stand thus. They sent 48 men of war into the river of *Dantzick*, to succour and relieve that town, and to preserve their own navigation and concerns, and there they now are. In the mean time they have their Ambassadors at *Elbinge* with the King of *Sweden*, treating with him for renewing the old alliance, and settling the toll in the ports of *Prussia*; wherein they have, notwithstanding the countenance of their fleet, not been able to advance much, and it is very probable the Treaty with them will much depend upon the *Swedes* success in *Poland*, whose affairs were very doubtful at the time when their fleet came before *Dantzick*; but since that, the *Swedes* have had very great success in a battle near *Warsaw*, where the King and Duke of *Brandenburgh* (who is joined with him) had about 30000 men horse and foot, and the *Pole* had near 100000, and *Warsaw* at his back. Yet it pleased God that the *Swede* had the victory, and killed and took 8 or 9000 men, dispersed the rest and retook *Warsaw*. This action hath been of great consequence to the *Swede*, and tends much to assure his affairs. I should have told you before of

A.D. 1656 the great amity which is contracted between the King of *Spain* and *Charles Stewart*. *Charles* hath put himself into his hands, and is obliged in his endeavours for his restitution to be wholly guided by the King of *Spain*. *Charles* is now raising some regiments in *Flanders*, of the runagate Irish, English and Scotch, to invade us with; and they say we are to expect him before *December*. The general peace is greatly endeavoured; *Mr. de Lyons* is now in *Madrid* from the Court of *France* treating about it; and the mad Queen *Christina* of *Sweden*, is come from the Pope to the Court of *France* upon that errand: we shall see this week, what it will come unto.

I had a letter this week from *Leghorn*, that the *Genoese* have embarked 4 or 5000 men on board ships and gallies. Their design is not certainly known; but by their course, it is said, they steer towards the coast of *Spain*, and are said to be for that King's assistance.

I have nothing else to give you the trouble of, but to return you my humble thanks for your kindness to my brother-in-law, and to beseech you that I remain in quality of,

Yours, &c.

Whitehall, Aug. 28, 1656.

JOHN THURLOE.

I received all your letters, and return you my humble thanks for them.

J. Thurloe to General Montague.

S I R,

BLESSED be God for your safe arrival in *Stokes-Bay*. Some weeks since we had not faith

faith to believe that this summer's expedition of the fleet would have had so merciful a conclusion: and that which makes it so, is not only the considerable prize which you have brought home with you, (which yet is very great mercy in the condition our affairs are now in,) but that we have a renewed testimony of God's presence, and some witness of his acceptance of the present engagement against *Spain*. A.D. 1657

Your dispatch, dated off the *Lizard*-point the 22d instant, arrived here this morning about 7 of the clock. We were very careful concerning your condition, in regard of the storm that hath been here ever since yesterday morning; and we were very glad by your second dispatch to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, that through the goodness of God you are safely come into *Stokes-Bay*.

Your letter in cyphers which I had the honour to receive from you, I communicated immediately to his Highness, who hath thereupon in pursuance of your desires resolved to send unto you Col. *Kelsey*, Capt. *Hatsell*, Capt. *Lloyd*, Col. *Briscoe*, Major *Bourne*, (if they can all be had): and by them you will receive his Highness's thoughts concerning the fleet now with you. Their dispatch is now preparing, and they will set forward this evening or to morrow morning towards you: and his Highness desires, that you with the fleet will stay at *Portsmouth*, until the persons aforesaid arrive with you; which was the chief errand of this express.

Our affairs here I suppose you will have heard before this comes to your hands; how cordial and unanimously the Parliament have declared themselves concerning the Spanish war, having after two days debate declared their approbation thereof *nemine contradicente*: and this before they heard one tittle of your success. But of these and other affairs the Gentlemen that will attend you, will be able to give you a farther information: and the truth is,

4.D.1657 having been all this day in physick, I am not able to write much; which is the reason also that I am necessitated to make use of another's hand in this letter, which I beg your pardon for, and remain yours, &c.

Whitehall, October 25, 1656.
at 7 of the clock at night.

JOHN THURLOE.

J. Thurloe to General Montague.

S I R,

IT was thought that Mr. *Meadows* should have gone with Major-General *Jephson* to *Hamburg*: but since it is judged more convenient that he goes into the Sound: and therefore I pray your Lordship to give order for a fit ship to carry him thither; which is all the errand of these lines from your Lordship's, &c.

August 26, 1657.

JOHN THURLOE.

J. Thurloe to General Montague.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship will receive herewith the result of the conferences which have been betwixt his Highness and the French Ambassador; whereby you will see what is undertaken to be sent for the further assisting of the French King: and I suppose it will not be many days before some of these things will be with you. Besides what is here, his Highness desires that you would assist with what the ships can afford, according to the paper which was sent you by the Governour of *Calais*; for it is possible all that is contained in this catalogue herewith sent will not come so soon as there will be need; espe-

especially if Mareſchal *Turenne* begin his affault ſpeedily, which we here wiſh he would do; and thereby put us out of thoſe doubts we have, whether they do really intend an affault or no, or only pretend to it, the better to colour over their neglect in performance of the treaty hitherto. However his Highneſs is reſolved to do his part, and to put them from any ſubterfuge of this kind. Indeed Mareſchal *de Turenne* profeſſes he will attempt *Mardyke*, if he be ſupplied in any reaſonable manner; and Mr. *Tallon* ſent by him to his Highneſs makes all the profeſſions thereof that can be. Upon this confidence his Highneſs hath taken theſe reſolutions, and deſires they may be ſeconded by you with the fleet, as far as it will conſiſt with ſafety. The great ſhips (as his Highneſs perceived by one of your letters) will be in great danger by riding upon that coaſt; which was the reaſon that letter was written to your Lordſhip by *Baker* the meſſenger. The Commiſſioners of the Admiralty here being alſo of the ſame mind, and it is thought that the leſſer ſhips may do the ſame work, and be of the like advantage to this deſign, eſpecially when the other ſhips may be ſo near as to correſpond with them; but which way your Lordſhip will manage this buſineſs, that is left to you. That which was ſaid either in this or former letters upon this account, was only to let you ſee, that you were not obliged to keep the greater ſhips ſo near the ſhore, as to endanger them in caſe of bad weather, which is to be looked for at this time of year. The provisions will be directed to your Lordſhip, as ſoon as any of them come. His Highneſs deſires you to cauſe them to be ſent upon the *Flanders* coaſt, and to let the French General know thereof, that he may give directions where to have them put on ſhore. We have not heard one word from the Ambaſſador theſe 14 days; he is with the Court,

A.D. 1657 and if your Lordship hears whether the Court be still at *Metz*, or be returned towards *Paris*, I beseech you to let me know it. We have had no letters this fortnight from *Flanders*; the post being stopped at *Dunkirk*. I remain yours, &c.

September 17, 1657.

JOHN THURLOE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Edward Hyde, in Feb. 1657-8. upon his arrival from England into France.

I Got hither with difficulties of all kinds. My being here will alone assure you, that I found it impossible to make any considerable rising: yet nothing is more certain than that there are all the inclinations imaginable towards it, and that more general than I could have believed without the proof of my senses. I have not time to fortify my assertion: but can only tell you, that if the King can but once land at or near *Yarmouth*, but with the numbers and provisions designed him, that town will be his before it can be succoured; *Cromwell* not daring hastily to remove his army from *London* where it almost all is, nor yet to raise new troops, being so hated by almost all but his domesticks and those of the army that depend upon his tyranny, that he knows not in what county to make or into what hands to put his levies. Our affair has been managed by honest but unskilful men. I hope I have left it in more dextrous hands: but there will be no rising till a foreign force appear. You know where I am, and how necessary it is I should know what is like to be done. If the enterprize go speedily on, I will as I shall receive the King's order, either put my self where I may get into the
West

West of *England*, or upon the nearest way to you; *A.D. 1657*
if not, I shall seek the safest. Let me be sure to
hear from you by the next post, and direct your
letter under *Marces* his cover for Mr. *George*
Summers.

*The M. of Ormonde's Account of his proceed-
ings in England in January 1657-8, sent
to Sir E. Hyde.*

AS soon as I came to *London*, I sent for those
persons who were best able to give me an
account of the present state of affairs: and from
them I understood the general expectation of the
arrival of the King out of *Flanders* with an army;
and upon that expectation, that there were great
preparations made throughout the kingdom, to re-
pair to his Majesty, or to possess them of consider-
able places in the several quarters of the kingdom:
and I confirmed them in that opinion, assuring
them that his Majesty would be ready to transport
himself with his forces by the end of *February*.

Shortly after my arrival *Cromwell* dissolved his
Parliament; upon which the distempers appeared
so great, that if his Majesty would have transported
himself with the forces designed to attend him from
hence, I am of opinion he would have found little
opposition. However I found that they upon
whom we most depended, and under whose shelter
and protection his Majesty's friends generally were
to rise, would not be persuaded to declare until the
King should be first landed: which having been
always promised them from hence, they would not
quietly hearken to the reasons which would dispose
them to have begun the work, some of them say-
ing, they knew very well the preparations in
Flanders were not so forward as I delivered them
to be.

A.D. 1657 They who had always been of his Majesty's party, and who did not know upon what other assistance we depended, would have begun if I could have undertaken that his Majesty would have landed in any other part of the kingdom, and so made a diversion within twenty days, without which they believed they could not be able to stand longer of themselves: nor was I satisfied that the designs were so sure, that they would not be suppressed in a shorter time, if *Cromwell* should have nothing to intend but their reduction; and therefore I thought it not fit to encourage but restrain those actions. And thereupon by their advice I returned to use all the means I could to hasten his Majesty over, and promised them to return myself to another quarter of the kingdom agreed on between us, if his Majesty resolved presently to transport himself.

And this was the reason that I went into *France*, from whence I could without noise or suspicion have returned to the place designed, and I sent my humble opinion to his Majesty where he should land, there being an express sent over to him at the same time to assure him of that port and harbour, and of which I am confident he would have been possessed, if he had gone with the force which was assigned him from hence: and thereupon I am persuaded, upon as great and particular assurances as in such cases can be given, that the people generally would adhere to him, and considerable places declare for him throughout the kingdom.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

MAURICE came hither last night ill; when we made no question of your being in *Eng-land*,

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

121

land, and upon that ground have sent many lately AD. 1657
over. Though *Maurice* be confident that you
are arrived safely in *France*, yet since it is now
three weeks since you left *London*, we shall be in
very great pain till we see you or hear from you;
and since *Don Juan* will know this night, that
you are returned, we must expect no kind of ad-
vance in the preparations till your arrival; but ra-
ther that they will despair of doing any thing and
proceed accordingly. And by the account *Maurice*
brings, there seems to be no cause for that, and
your comrade seems not to have thought of return-
ing. We are in the clouds till you come, God
send you well hither. I have been in a fit of the
gout these 28 days, and am not able to stir out of
my bed, yet hope to be put into a coach within

Brussels

two or three days and be carried to 558 whither
the King goes to morrow morning.

I am, &c.

Antwerp, March 8.

716.

Directed for Mr. *George Summers*, to be kept till he
call or send for it.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Edward Hyde

I Arrived here last night after a dangerous and
troublesome passage, in regard both of salt and
fresh waters; and so tired that I can hardly com-
pose myself to make a dispatch: yet my stay in
France, and what is of more importance depending
perhaps upon it, I must make the best shift I can.
During my stay at *London*, I wrote two letters to
you, one by the post under my Lady Abbess's
cover, the other by *Maurice*. In the former, I
told

A.D. 1657 told you, I had spoken with the undertakers for *Glocester* and *Bristol*, and I think *Windsor*; that for the taking of *Glocester* and *Bristol*, I found nothing like a probability that it could be effected, if attempted; nor any disposition in the actors to attempt it, till the King's landing, or till some other design should be set on foot with success. And this *Clayton* told me in the presence of *Pyle* and one *Dukes*, that was the person for the surprize of *Windsor*; so that till *Clayton* could go and speak with the undertakers (who were scattered for fear of imprisonment) and persuade them to set their design on foot, all must stand still.

I hope both those letters are long since in your hands: if they be, you will have found, that there was not in my judgment any such probable means proposed for the effecting of any one design, as to the taking of any place, that could justify my engaging so many persons as were willing to rise with all the force they could make; which without some place to receive and cover them, had been to expose them to inevitable ruin, and the King's counsels to irreparable and shameful derision. Nor was it possible for me to stay the new modelling of designs for the taking of places, but that my being in *England* would be discovered, and thereupon all persons suspected, though never so lightly, secured and disabled. This being the case as to that part, and the letter to *Popbam* being still in Sir *Henry Moore's* hands, I held it best by the means of *Honeywood* to bring Sir *Henry Moore* and *Russel* together; *Russel* being a person well known to and esteemed by *Popbam*, that so we might have some better assurance of what *Popbam* would do, than I now take Sir *H. Moore's* discourse to be; and to retire myself into *France*, from whence I can either attend on the King, if he shall be put in state to transport himself, or to get into the West of *England* to serve him there, whilst he
lands

lands in the North East; and I have left an address ^{A.D. 1657} in *Honeywood's* hands, how to send to me from any person that I thought of consideration.

Now though this account may seem and is indeed melancholy, as to particulars and to what we thought had been more solidly projected: yet if I have any judgment, it leads me to be confident, that if the King can land but with the force and provisions promised at or near *Yarmouth* he will carry it before it can be succoured, (especially if it be before *Cromwell* shall have composed the disorders occasioned by his breaking the Parliament) and by that gain reputation enough to gather a force sufficient to do (I think) his own business, and (I am sure) the King of *Spain's*. This I shall write to my Lord of *Bristol*, if I have time and can speak with *Marcus*, to borrow his cypher of him; if not, you will, if the King please, make him a copy of this letter and send it him in all haste.

I have not spoke with Dr. *Huett*, nor *Stapeley*; both because their business was nothing without *Bristol* and *Glocester*, and because I have too good reasons to suspect him unable to do any thing in proportion even to his least undertaking, not for want of will, but skill to order it.

You see how necessary it is, I should receive the King's orders, and some light of the state of things there, that I may govern myself accordingly. You know this place is but a degree, if at all, securer than *London* for me; but whilst I can be of use, I regard that no more than I should do. I am got hither, principally by the help of Dr. *Quatermain*, sent for in the King's name to be his Physician: a sober, modest, and discreet man he is I am sure, and they say able in his profession. It would infinitely trouble me to find the place filled, as I am here told it is; the rather that upon his saying something of it to me, I assured him there could be

A.D. 1657 be no such thing, as I thought I might very well, having heard him recommended to the King, and the King approving his being sent for. Let me know what he is to trust to, that I engage him in no further danger or trouble. My stay here may be the less secure by my having met Dr. *Frasier* just as I landed at *Dieppe*. I am not certain he knew me, but far from being sure of the contrary.

The Earl of Bristol to the M. of Ormonde.

I Received yours on Wednesday last, the King being to come to *Brussels* the next day, and having sent me before him from *Antwerp* with that assurance. Notwithstanding il n'est pas arrivé this night at ten a clock, having lost his passage par bateau; so that I am fain to send you this without being able to write you certainty of any thing; having thought it no wise fit to acquaint Don *Juan* avec the contents de vostre lettre, till I had conferred avec le Roy, and Chevalier *Hyde*; for which I had a good pretence saying, il estoit escrit dans la cyphre de Chevalier *Hyde*. So that all that I can say at the present is, that les vaisseaux de guerre sont arrivé à *Ostende*; the flutes expected avec the first wind, and all other preparations in readines, that I hope we shall so make use of what you write, as to persuade them to go on with the expedition, though the insurrections expected to have preceded it have failed. You have nothing therefore to do but to conceal yourself, and to expect by the next a full resolution in all things. God keep you.

Brussels, March 8, 1658.

Sir

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

YOU must give me leave still to use another A.D. 1657
 hand, since my pains are still great, and I am
 only able to sit in my chair; so that indeed you
 would hardly be able to read my cypher, when I
 write at so little ease. It was the next day after
 yours of the 9th came to me, before I received
 your former of the first, (and without doubt that
 packet came to *Antwerp* by the last post) and there-
 fore you will believe the knowing so very little of
 what had moved you to your retreat put us to much
 uneasiness: which was increased by the trouble
 some of our friends expressed to be in for your ab-
 sence, and particularly Sir *Henry Moore*, who writes,
 with all the confidence imaginable, all of *Popbam*
 that we can look for, and that he will the first hour
 be master of three considerable places, which he
 doth not name, and put them into our power. Yet
 he says, he is unwilling to treat with the friend you
 appointed. Indeed you have left us yet very much
 in the dark. You told us in your first after your
 arrival, that the hope of *Glocester* was off: but
 we do not yet know, whether you spoke with 842,
 and how the business of *Bristol* stands. You say
 nothing of *Windsor* castle, nor whether you spoke
 with Dr. *Hewet*, and consequently how you are sa-
 tisfied about Mr. *Stapeley*: nor have you told us,
 whether you met with Mr. *Cotton*; which if all be
 as is present here, would have been very well worth
 your labour. For here is a Gentleman now with
 us, sent over purposely from Mr. *Cotton*, who as-
 sures the King of as much from *Norton*, as we
 could expect. This Gentleman will be at *Paris* the
 next week, for he came that way hither, and is
 obliged to return the same. What satisfaction you
 had

A.D. 1657 had from any of our own friends, or with whom you spake, and in whose hands you have left the conduct of affairs, we know not; and so are the more puzzled to answer the letters we receive: and O-Neile himself writes for orders and money; and N. Armorer and Col. St. make their moan that they know not what to do, and we know not what to return to them. It is not possible, that if Popbam's purposes are sincere, as Sir H. Moore undertakes they are, and if he know, that besides the conjunction of our own friends with him, (whom he knows too well to undervalue) Mr. Norton would at the same time declare; and if Mr. Norton knew Popbam's intentions, and that his neighbour Stapeley is ready to appear the first hour with him, with such a body of horse, as of themselves would protect him from an affront. I say, if these three persons, (and they are all three persons of great fortunes and reputation) were enough informed of each other's affections, they would make no scruple of beginning the work; and in that case what your cousin Mordant and Waller are like to contribute, you can judge best.

I confess our present condition here is not better in any degree than you left it: and the unreadiness of the Spanish Ministers in all dispatches, and the insecurity we conceive you to be in at *Paris*, little inferior to the danger you were in at *London*, and not recompensed or allayed for the usefulness of your being there, made use of the mind, that you should make all the haste hither you could. We were confirmed in that opinion yesterday, when at the same time we heard that 12 frigats and 3 ketches were already come before *Ostend*, and that they have already met with the five flutes come from *Holland* and taken three of them, and driven the other two on shore. And therefore at the last, the King was resolved that I should write to you to get hither as soon as you could; though I must tell you

you we should have given you no counsel for the ^{A.D. 1657} way ; which we conceive to be very difficult, and so much the more, because some persons here, and amongst those the good Father, know or seem to know of your being in *Paris*. But this day hath diverted the King from the resolution of calling you hither, and the Spanish Ministers so clearly declaring that all things shall be ready within few days for embarkation, makes his Majesty resolve that nothing shall fail that is in his power. I refer you to what the Earl of *Bristol* hath written to you upon that matter, and the conference that hath been this day ; which *Harry* hath likewise put into this cypher : and they say, that they have saved the two flutes which were on ground, and that the other vessels which are at *Ostend*, and upon which they depended not, will do the work ; and the Earl of *Bristol* is very confident, that there will be now no more delay on their part, but all things ready at *Ostend* within 10 or 12 days at farthest. In the mean time I must tell you, that we have not received one Dollar since I saw you ; and so you know our condition that way, which we are as importunate to improve as we can be, and I hope they will now shew us some kindness.

Whether they will be so ready as they profess within the time limited, and whether we shall then be able to get out whilst the frigates lie there I know not. As there are many conveniencies attend on being ready, and having it in our power to go ; so if those three persons knew each other's meaning, and that we were indeed so ready, that nothing but those ships kept us from coming out, I do believe they might easily enough be induced to declare and begin the work ; which would quickly remove the ships from that post to attend some other work. And in that case, my own opinion is, that the more ships *Cromwell* had at sea, it would be the

A.D. 1657 the better for us, and that he would find his friends of that element as infirm to him, as those at land. But how to compass this intelligence you can judge better than I; nor is it easy to give you any positive directions concerning yourself, whether to repair to the West or any part, since you have given us no more light to judge by, and we not knowing how far you are satisfied in the matter of *Bristol*, or what other correspondence you have settled there: besides we have not a Dollar to supply you with, nor credit to borrow twenty. That which occurs to me as the most natural, and by which you may take some measures, is that the person who came hither from *Norton*, and is to return the next week thither shall have such directions from hence, that it shall be in your power to speak with him; and then you will be able, upon weighing what he says, and considering the business of *Popbam*, to think what is to be done. In the mean time I must tell you that there is Sir *John Arundel* (a person of unquestionable reputation) in *Paris*, who hath himself spoken with *Norton*, and is equally trusted by him, and from whom this Gentleman (his brother-in-law) is sent. If you, without loss of time and before his return, (for he cannot return till the next week at soonest,) could find a way to let him know you, and then with freedom let him know where you have been, (which you may very safely do) and what you are ready to do, and then take notice of the particular of *Norton* by the King's command, it is very probable some such thoughts may result between you, which we cannot prescribe. He may be willing to go over himself presently, and you may attend in some place agreed, and who knows but your presence may be as great an encouragement as *Norton* desires? And a thousand other things may arise and be resolved upon conference between you, which we cannot fore-

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foresee, much less propose to you. Upon the *A.D. 1658* whole matter, you must tell us your opinion, and let us know what you think fit to do, and where our letters shall find you, whom you principally depend upon in *England* for the ordering those affairs, what we shall write to *O Neile* and to *St.* to do, who hath all the papers. *Nic. Armorer* sends me word by *Maurice* that *Sbrewsbury* will be ours. I know not his ground. I suppose you

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know from whom the inclosed comes, it is 945's hand. If it signify any thing necessary for us to know you will tell it. You may assure the Doctor, he is upon no disadvantage here, but the contrary, and will be very welcome for several reasons. This leud, dull hand has been so long upon the work, that I am not secure of the post. God keep you, and bring us well together.

Brussels, March 16.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Hyde.

I HAVE yours of the 16th, and read it with very much admiration, especially that part, where you say I have left you very much in the dark. I could not think it could possibly be necessary to put you in mind of what expectations I was sent; and they all failing, that I had no more to do but to return; or that you could imagine I would tell you as I did in mine of the first, that there appeared to me no solid, or indeed probable ground for the securing of any one place, if I had not spoken with all those who were the main instruments. And how could you call this general positive assertion no light, or suppose it did not comprehend all particulars within my charge or view? *Popham* may

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be

A.D. 1658 be in the disposition and power *Moore* says: but it is no good sign, that in three weeks before my coming, and during my being there, he durst not go to him or convey the King's letter to him; but as soon as I am gone, complains of my absence and writes wonders; and still a worse that he will not treat with *Russel*, whose fortune, interest, inclinations and honour he knows. But if he have said who he will treat or communicate with, I doubt not but you have given order for it; if he have not, the matter is still worse; if it be with me, and you had told me so, the King commanding me, I would have found my way to him (*Popham*), or to the Tower, or to the Bastile, for which latter I think I stand fair. But I would be glad to have more for it, than *Moore's* confidence, in which, between you and I, I have none.

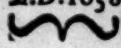
I offered to speak with *Cotton*, till I was told by the person employed, that we must enter into a Treaty with Lord *Say*, concerning the re-establishing the old *Isle of Wight* Treaty and Parliament: yet I left an address to send any propositions to me. And if I be not mistaken, you will have no *Norton* but that way: and to tell you true, I did not think it prudence to put myself into the power of Lord Speaker *Fiennes's* father, and brother-in-law; and as I once before told you, I did not take Treaties to be the business I went upon. I did not speak with Dr. *Hewet*, because the securing of all places failed; without which *Stapley's* business would not do ours: and besides, I was assured by one that knows him and his interest well, that it was impossible he could perform near his lowest undertaking: and so you will be told shortly by him you have encouraged to go to you. Thus you see, I am so far from knowing how to make an intelligence betwixt your Triumvirate, that I am not sure I can have it myself with any one of them. I will endeavour

deavour to speak with *Arundel*, if I can find where ^{A.D. 1658} he is, since I understand it to be the King's pleasure I should stay here.

I wonder you should ask me what orders to send to *O Neile, St.* and *Armorer*: mine to you and my Lord of *Bristol* gives you my sense clearly enough, and all the opinion I am capable of giving. But I am amazed, you should ask me what I think fit to do with myself; that depending entirely upon the King's orders and resolution. If there be a purpose and possibility, (which should be the same thing) to go on with the design, I have told you where I think I can be of most use, and whither I can get with most ease. If either be wanting, I may presume to hope I may serve the King to better ends than to ember divisions in so unwholsome an air as this is for my constitution.

If you find by the covers and seals sent you by *Marces*, that your letter to me was opened, and if *Harry* did not forget to enclose the letter from *N V* I suspect foul play in the Post-masters, and myself to be in more danger than I was aware of. I wonder *N V* should send to me that way, since I left with *Harry Wood* a much nearer, and for his knot principally. All your business is in the same hands it was, now that *Popbam* will not treat with *Russel*, and if I bragged of having left it in better to my Lord of *Bristol*, it was for the Spanish Ministers encouragement; which use it seems, he hath not unprofitably made of it: but you could not think I had time or madness enough about me to ravel all you have been weaving, and new model in 10 or 12 days. Here is a man come from Mr. *Mordant* with a letter and message to my son, he is gone to *Orleans*.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

A.D. 1658  I HAVE yours of the 15th, and I hope you are satisfied by my long dispatch of this day seven-night, both when yours of the first came to my hands and of what you can expect from hence; to which indeed I can add little that hath occurred since. The Gentleman of whom I writ last, will (I hope) reach *Paris* with this post, and I have given him a letter to Mr. *Belling* to let you know that he would wait on you, and so to order him as you direct. You will find him discreet and full of zeal to the King's service; yet I wish you should speak with Sir *John Arundel* likewise, if you have not done it already, and then you will judge what is fit to be done presently in that affair, and what must be left to time. Col. *St.* returned to us the last night, with a large and very particular account from *O Neile*, who remains there full of negotiations, and hath set many Treaties on foot. I wish that he may not have proved too active, and let some men see that he knows more than they wish he should. He hath a wonderful confidence that the work would be easily done, if the King were there, and therefore writes us very earnestly to come away, not knowing in what case we are; which in short is no other than this, that if the business will be begun there, which probably will call away the ships from *Ostend*, I am persuaded these people will put the King over with all the assistance they have promised at last. But if all must be quiet there, till we begin from hence, we are to blame if we do not see clearly that we must defer it till next winter: and truly against that time I believe the King will have it in his own power. This being the case, as far as yet appears to us, his Majesty desires

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desires you would make what possible haste you can hither, that he may advise with you what is next to be done. We dare not advise the way, which you will best consider: but there are many reasons which make your presence very necessary; therefore I pray lose no time. There appears to us no end of your stay longer there. *Belling* returned to us the last night. *Maurice* is my governor till your return; if he wants any thing, it is his own fault. I wish you would persuade *Sir John Arundel* to go over himself; which methinks he should not decline.

Brussels, March 23, 1658.

The M. of Ormonde's Answer to Sir E. Hyde.

I HAVE yours of the 23d, and have spoken with both the Gentlemen; by which I am confirmed in my belief, that nothing will be begun in *England*, unless some accident give a rise to it. He that came from *Brussels* will the next week go for *England*, and know whether *Norton* will communicate with others of equal interest and fortune to him. You may let *Moore* inform himself the same thing of *Popham*: and when both their consents are obtained, they may be so named to each other, as that if they have any aversion, it may produce no hurt to either. This is all we can think fit to be done for the present.

I am apt to believe *O Neile* is full as active as he should be: but I think his confidence well grounded. I acquainted him with nothing, but what I found in less competent hands, and left him no authority, though he desired it. It were well he were called home, and all your other emissaries, who cannot walk in the light, and whose being taken may do hurt. I writ by the last post to you, that

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Mr.

M.D. 1658

Mr. *Shaw* would by this be charged with a bill of exchange from Monsieur *Marols* for the value of 200 pistoles at double usance received by me here. If my own pretensions can any way raise it, I will furnish him before then with provision; if not, you must take care it be done, and so assure him. You know I paid what I last had of the King, and will be as honest in this. I yet know not which way I shall get to you; you may be sure, it shall be as soon as I can; but if it be long first, consider any way is nearer than by the *Bastile*.

The Earl of Bristol to the M. of Ormonde.

I Have received yours of the last post, and conclude, that for what concerns M. *Marchin*, it is impossible he can have had any part in the proposition made to *Lockhart* by the French Gentleman. No man can go franker nor more as a man of honour than he doth in all our concernments. If all hopes of their advancement should fail, I do not in that case think him incapable of seeking an accommodation with *France* by all the ways consistent with honour.

Now as to your own great business, I must tell you that the failing of the expected preceding declaration had much startled the Spanish Ministers: but your judgment in general of the state of affairs in *England*, and of the security of the King's possessing *Yarmouth*, having encouraged his Majesty to tell them positively, that he saw such solid grounds for the venturing himself and his rest upon the design, that he was resolved to do it, unless they flatly denied him the means; and they on their parts finding from other intelligence the real probabilities of a revolution in *England*, and that the appearance of a considerable embarkation ready to set

set sail with the King and Duke of York's persons ^{A.D. 1658}
 would either encourage our friends in *England* to
 begin somewhat, or at least be a powerful diver-
 sion to hinder *Cromwell* from sending over recruits
 hither, or going on with the design for *Dunkirk*,
 on which the French measures for this Campaign
 appear wholly founded: they seem this day at a
 meeting between the Marquess of *Caracena*, Don
Alonso de Cardenas, M. *Marchin* and my self, to be at
 length come to a final resolution, that all things shall
 within very few days be embarked ready to set
 sail, and that before to-morrow's parting of the
 post, I shall be able to let you know the fixed day.
 Nor doth the news come of three of our flutes,
 taken by *Cromwell's* ships lying before *Ostend*,
 startle them; they saying, that with the three
 which are there, and four frigates in the port,
 which they reckon'd not upon, they will make up
 the transportation. They shewed us in what state
 and where all the preparatives were, and what or-
 ders settled for the assembling the men both horse
 and foot. In fine, M. *Marchin* and I are both
 most clear of opinion, that we shall see all in a
 readiness within a very few days. Now as I sup-
 L. Chancellor

pose 608 will have referred you to me for what
 depends upon the Spanish Ministers here; so I re-
 fer you wholly to what he shall write to you to-
 wards the taking your measures accordingly with
 our correspondents in *England*, and towards the
 disposing of yourself: of which I shall say thus
 much, that certainly nothing hath so much con-
 tributed to their taking this good final resolution,
 as the assuring them, that instead of returning hi-
 ther, you were ready to pass over again into the
 West, to head those declarations that would infal-
 libly be upon the King's landing. God keep you.

Bruxells, March 25, 1658.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

SINCE none of your friends durst give you advice which way you should come to us, they have no reason to reproach you for going so much about: and I hope you have given yourself some pleasure in seeing those renowned places through which you have passed. But I may now tell you, that it is so necessary that you make all possible haste hither, that the King desires you to lose no time: and indeed your absence is wonderful inconvenient, since nothing can be resolved, nor (if it could be resolved) executed till you come. Therefore I hope *Maurice* will no sooner see you, than you will set out towards us; and no doubt the *Rhine* will be your best passage, the way by land being very dangerous: and when you come to *Dorte*, if that be your way, you were best come by the river to *Antwerp* than land any where. Before the end of Easter-week, I must be confident you will be here.

All the King's thoughts now are upon pretence of soliciting at the Diet to make a sudden and unexpected journey to *Spain*: and by that method to be able to make his attempt the next winter; which he shall never be by the meer help of these people: he must make *Italy* his way. I confess I know not what to think; I can object, but know not what to propose: only I am sure, if that thought be pursued, (which is known to no body but *Bristol* and me) it is time to set out. The King would have you, as you pass by *Dusseldorp* (except you find some objection against it) see the Duke of *Neuburg*; which you may do in your *incognito* state by writing a billet to him, and letting him know you would, if he please, see him,

as a thing you know will be acceptable to your *A.D. 1658*
master, and to give him the best account you can
of the places where you have been. You will
best judge of this, and what is fit to be done. I
must tell you, since my last letters from *England*,
I am very much perplexed with an apprehension,
that our friends there may do some rash and unad-
vised thing. That night when our letters came
from thence, *O Neile* was to meet upon it, tho'
he had then received my letters to come away.

If your sons be with you, I pray make them
think well of me, and that I am as much their
servant as is possible, God of heaven preserve you,
and dispose you to make haste to us; since every
hour's delay is penal.

Brussels, April 14, 1658.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

LE Resident du Roy qui est a Madrid luy
mande par la derniere poste que les Ministres
de Flandres ont donné avis à ceux d'Espagne du
discours que sa Majesté leur a tenu au commence-
ment de l'année touchant une pensée qu'il avoit
de faire un voyage en personne en Espagne, et ont
desiré d'estre instruit la dessus, en cas que ce discours
seroit resumée. Mais le Resident n'a pas sceu des-
couvrir quelles ordres ils ont receu: seulement par
observations generaux, et par un discours en par-
ticulier qu'il a eu avec le Secretaire de Don Louis de
Haro comme en confidence il dit qu'il a sujet de croire
qu'ils n'ont point d'averfion que le Roy fasse le
voyage, mais plustost le souhaitent.

Cet advisement avec les accidents qui sont
arrivés aussi bien en Angleterre qu'au Pais Bas
depuis qu'il a consulté M. le Cardinal de Retz
sur ce voyage, a donné sujet au Roy de considerer
l'affaire

A.D. 1658 l'affaire de nouveau, et jusques au fond, puisqu'il est necessaire en l'estat ou il se trouve de prendre partie en peu de temps; ce qu'il n'a pas voulu faire sans consulter encore M. le Card. de Retz, et luy ayant exposé les raisons qui luy ont paru pour et contre, ill attendera son avis et conseil qui luy pourra desembarasser de l'agitation dans laquelle la force des raisons d'un costé et d'autre l'ont jettée. Les raisons qui semblent les plus importantes pour le voyage sont,

I. Le peu de satisfaction qu'il a trouvée jusques icy dans le traitement qu'il a receu des Ministres de sa M. Catholique, soit en ce qui touche sa personne ou ses affaires, et l'apparence qu'il y a qu'il trouvera encore moins à l'avenir, puisqu'il y a peu d'apparence que leur volonté pourroit changer en son endroit; et qu'il est assez clair que leur force est beaucoup diminuée, ce qui leur servira d'excuse legitime ou de pretexte irreprovable de luy laisser languir dans la misere ou il est, qui luy reduira en peu de temps en des extremités insupportables, et l'exposera a des affronts si scandaleux qu'il perdra tout ce qui luy reste de reputation parmi ses sujets et avec les estrangers.

II. Le mauvais estat des Pais Bas, desquels il y a beaucoup ruiné et beaucoup desja perdu; et cela aux endroits les plus propres pour donner quartiers aux troupes du Roy, en cas qu'il pourroit en avoir pour passer en Angleterre, de quoy il y a fort peu d'apparence; de sorte que s'ils viennent a perdre encore Newport ou Ostend, ou que l'ennemi s'empare de quelque place qui coupe la correspondance de Bruges avec Ostend (ce que Cromwell apparemment les poussera de faire) il sera tout a fait impossible de loger ou embarquer aucunes troupes pour un dessein sur l'Angleterre.

III. Les pertes qu'on a fait en Flandres estant assez connu en Angleterre de ceux sur qui le Roy fonde

fonde ses plus grandes esperances pour un souleve-^{A.D. 1658}ment en une conjoncture propre, ils jugeront comme nous de l'impossibilité d'estre secondée par le Roy tant que la Flandre demeure opprimée comme elle est, et s'appliqueront plustost a toute sorte d'adresse qui peut cacher à Cromwell leurs inclinations pour le Roy et les correspondances qu'ils ont eu avec luy, qu'a former des nouveaux desseins pour son service. Ces trois derniers articles font voir quelle esperance le Roy peut avoir de former ou executer aucun dessein, ou mesme de subsister, par les moyens de ces Ministres ou par ceux des Pais de leur gouvernement, qui l'oblige de chercher ailleurs pour tous les deux, & d'eviter tant qu'il peut de tomber dans les dernieres indigences.

IV. Les avantages que le Roy espere de tirer de son voyage, s'il vient au bout, valent la peine et les hazards. Le premier est de procurer qu'on luy donne entre ses mains la somme que le Roy d'Espagne destina pour faire une descente en Angleterre, sans que les Ministres de Flandres aient aucune pouvoir de la toucher ou detourner, et de mesme pour ce qui regarde son subsistance. L'autre est, que sa Majeste pourroit engager S. M. Catholique et ses Ministres d'avoir tant d'amitié pour luy, qu'en cas d'une Traitée de Paix entre les deux Couronnes, le Roy y soit compris: et il paroist necessaire que sa M. y travaille, d'autant qu'il est bien informé que le Cardinal Mazarin s'est engagé en cas de tel Traité d'y faire comprendre Cromwell. Outre ceux cy il y a encore des autres avantages et des choses a prevenir.

V. Que les amis du Roy en Angleterre estant fort intimidés par les malheurs qui sont arrivés en Flandres, et par ceux qui sont arrivés a quelques uns de leurs compagnons en Angleterre, il est a esperer que le voyage du Roy leur remettra le cœur, au lieu que s'il demeure icy dans l'estat qu'on doit

A.D. 1658 doit apprehendre, ils auront tousjours mons d'esperance d'aucune ressource.

VI. La derniere raison pour le voyage est, que s'il est vray selon l'avis du Resident, que les Ministres d'Espagne et ceux d'icy souhaitent que le Roy aille en Espagne, ils feront en sorte qu'a la fin il y fera contraint apres beaucoup d'incommodités qu'il souffrira, et des froideurs qu'ils luy tesmoigneront en tout ce qu'il aura a faire avec eux.

Les raisons qui semblent estre contre le voyage sont

I. Le nombre d'accidents qui peuvent arriver; par lesquels les affaires du Roy peuvent estre avantagees en un moment de temps. Tels sont la mort de Cromwell; quelque revolution qui peut arriver en Angleterre, s'il entreprend de se faire Roy; quelque alteration signale en France, si la France et Cromwell viennent a se quereller en partageant leurs conquestes; une guerre entre la Hollande et Cromwell, de quoy il paroist tous les jours des indices; le changement des Ministres et Pais bas: en aucune de quelles accidents ill seroit fort inconvenient que le Roy seroit si esloigné de la place ou il pourroit s'en profiter.

II. La pauvreté apparente qui est en Espagne, qui est telle qu'il est a craindre qu'il y aura autant de difficulté de tirer de l'argent de là que d'icy; qu'il est a douter que ceux qui n'ont pas voulu donner des ordres effectifs pour secourir le Roy en Flandres, ne seront pas trop liberales en Espagne; qui si le Roy vient estre negligé en Espagne, les consequences luy seront beaucoup plus facheuses, que le mesme traitement icy, puisqu'on peut attribuer l'un aux Ministres au lieu que l'autre paroistra estre du Roy leur Maistre.

III. L'ombrage que ce voyage peut-donner en ce qui regarde la Religion.

IV. La difficulté qu'il se trouve touchant les pouvoirs

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pouvoirs et commissions qu'il sera necessaire que sa *A.D. 1658*
M. laisse à Monseigneur le Duc de Yorke.

The Answer of the Cardinal de Retz.

LE voyage d'Espagne a (ce me semble) plus de peril que d'utilité. Mais comme il est d'une nature qu'il ne peut estre approuvé par les Espagnols, qu'il n'en soit mesme fortement desiré; et comme j'apprehende par ceste raison qu'il ne devienne à sa Majesté dans les suites plustost un effet de necessité que de choix, je crois qu'il est bon de penser au moins de bonne heure à en diminuer autant qu'il sera possible tous les inconveniens. Le premier et le plus considerable est tiré des mauvais conseils ausquels on a subjet à craindre que le bon naturel de M. le Duc de Yorke se laisse emporter; à quoi je ne vois point d'autre remede, si ce n'est que sa M. l'oblige de l'accompagner. Je ne doute point que les mesmes considerations qui font souhaiter aux Ministres d'Espagne le voyage du Roy ne leurs rendent fort agreable celui de M. son frere: et j'espere que les mesmes raisons qui l'ont porté à y envoyer le Pere Talbot, le pourront convier lui mesme à n'en point faire de difficulté. Enfin je suis persuadé qu'il ne fault rien oublier de tout ce qui peut obliger M. le Duc de Yorke à faire le voyage; parce que je crois que sa presence y est de tous points necessaire au service du Roy pour les raisons qui parlent assez d'elles mesmes sans les expliquer.

L'autre inconvenient se tire de la perte des occasions impreveues et favorables, que l'esloignement de sa M. peut faire apprehender. Je ne vois point de precaution à celles que la mort de Cromwell ou quelque revolution subite peut faire naistre en Angleterre,

A.D. 1658 Angleterre, je ne veois point (dis-je) d'autre precaution, que la confiance que le Roy peut prendre en la personne de M. le Duc de Glocestre. Et quand a celles que sa M. peut esperer par quelque avantage qui peut arriver aux armes d'Espagne, j'estime que pour ne pas hazarder d'en perdre les conjonctures en cas qu'elles arrivent, il n'est pas mal a propos que sa M. ne se mette en chemin que quand la campagne sera achevée de tout point, et dispose ses affaires d'une telle maniere qu'elle puisse estre de retour en Flandres, lorsque les troupes commenceront a remuer. Comme l'expedition des choses qu'elle traittera en Espagne ne depend pas d'elle, il est difficile que les moments de ce retour soient si justement dans ses mains: il me semble pourtant que l'on le peut esperer a peu de temps prés, parceque sa M. a tousjours des intelligences a faire voir aux Ministres d'Espagne, qui les peuvent obliger de ne pas apporter de delai à son retour.

Le memoire ci-joint est escrit de ma main, c'est a dire fort mal. Vous excuserez s'il vous plaist ma mauvaise esriture. L'honneur de veoir sa Majesté, m'est si cher & si precieux, que j'attendrai ses commandemens sur cela avec impatience. Je me tiendrai jusques là tousjours a distance fort proche d'Amsterdam; affin d'estre plustost adverti des ordres que vous m'avez fait esperer pour avoir l'honneur de le veoir. Je vous aurois esté porter moi mesme ce billet sans ma fluxion sur le pied qui est beaucoup augmentée depuis ce matin. Mon medecin dit que je ne m'en sentirai pas dans deux jours. A tout hazard, si vous m'envoiez vostre valet pour me donner les ordres du Roy sur le lieu où je pourrai avoir l'honneur de le veoir; faites le s'il vous plaist passer par ici, et si il ne me trouve point, il ira à Amsterdam a l'adresse ordinaire.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

Lorsque je receu les commandements de Madame la Princesse Royale, je croirois faire un plus long voyage que celui que je n'ay fait. Je suis ravi par l'évenement de ne m'estre pas esloigné de ce pais et de me trouver dans cette conjoncture qui me donne toute la joie imaginable. Elle seroit bien plus grande si j'estois assez heureux de pouvoir rendre quelque service a vostre Roy. Je vous supplie de l'asseurer de mes tres humbles obeissances, et de le conjurer par toute la bonté qu'il m'a toujours fait l'honneur d'avoir pour moy, de ne m'espargner en quoy que ce soit, si il me jugeoit propre en quelque chose pour son service. Si la M. croioit à cause de ma dignité je peusse quelque chose parmi les Catholiques d'Angleterre, je me tiendrois le plus heureux homme du monde de ne luy estre pas tout a fait inutil, je ferois le voiage de Londres avec plus de joie que je ne feray jamais celui de Paris. Comme je m'assure absolument de l'honneur de vostre amitié, je m'adresse a vous pour vous supplier d'asseurer le Roy de cette verité et de faire par vos bons offices, qu'il ne me considere dans les occasions ou il y ira de son service que comme celui de tous ses sujets qui s'exposeroit avec le plus de joie a toute sorte de perils. Je me tiendray tousjours a portée d'Amsterdam pour recevoir ses commandements a point nomme. Je vous supplie me faire scavoir ce qui se passe: j'en suis dans une impatience inimaginable. On dist icy que le fils de Cromwell a esté proclamé son successeur. Pour ce qui est de moy, je ne puis croire que Dieu n'accomplisse son ouvrage.

Emeric, Sept. 22, 1658.

A.D. 1658

*The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.*

JE receus vostre lettre le mesme jour, que je vous envoyay la mienne (qui vous aura comme j'espere esté rendue) et il n'est pas necessaire que je vous dise combien elle fust agreable au Roy, qui a pour vostre amitié tous les ressentimens et toute la reconnoissance qu'elle merite. Nous sommes dans l'attente de voir quels effets la mort de Cromwell produira en tous lieux. Quoy qu'il paroisse que tout est encore paisible en Angleterre, nous ne doutons pas neantmoins qu'il n'y arrive avec le temps des revolutions: et au dehors ses alliés ne tesmoignent pas estre beaucoup affligés de sa mort. En Hollande bien que les États ayent declares vouloir maintenir l'alliance, ils ont neantmoins envoyés prier son successeur d'achever le traitté de la marine et de ne pas assister le Roy de Suede: et l'animosité du peuple a beaucoup esclatée dans les reproches faites à l'usurpateur, et par la joye qu'il a fait paroistre a sa mort; ce qui ne s'est pas mesme passé sans quelque civilité à l'esgard du Roy, et nous ne manquerons pas de cultiver avec soin ces semences de bienveillance. Dans cette conjoncture on a fait des civilités extraordinaires a la Reyne en France. Le Cardinal luy a rendu visite et prit occasion de la feliciter: et nos amis en ce pays là se flattent, croiant qu'il pourra avoir intention de reparer ce qu'il a fait; mais ils se laissent peut estre aisément tromper par des belles parolles, et c'est que nous avons sujet de croire qu'il cherche. Vous pouvez mieux prévoir que nous ce qui nous peut venir de là: c'est pourquoy le Roy vous prie de luy faire scavoir vostre advis, en cas qu'on luy fasse quelque proposition de là: et vous pouvez vous assurer que vous serez adverty de tout ce qui passera.

Nous esperons que les Catholiques d'Angleterre A.D. 1658
feront leur de voir: il y en aura sans doute plu-
sieurs qui feront voir du zele, mais il ne sont pas
tous d'un mesme sentiment ny imbus de mesmes
preceptes: et il faut du bonheur du costé du Roy
pour les animer. On souhaite de recevoir souvent
de vos avis. Quoyqu'il en soit, le Roy n'a garde
de vous jeter dans le peril: c'est un employ peu
digne de vous, et l'avantage qu'on en pourroit es-
perer, n'est pas si considerable. Sa M. se promet
de bien plus grands de vostre amitié. Je me tiens
trop honoré des commandemens de V. E. et suis
avec respect et passion, &c.

Les Ducs de York et de Gloucester partirent d'icy
hier au soir pour aller voir la Princesse Royale:
en six jours ils seront de retour.

Bruxelles, Sept. 28, 1658.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

J'Ay reçu les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'hon-
neur de m'escire du 22 et 28 du passé: et je
vous remercie de tout mon cœur de la bonté que
vous me tesmoignez et que vous ne sauries jamais a-
voir pour personne qui vous honore et vous estime
plus veritablement que moy. Je vous supplie aussi
de rendre a sa Majesté les tres humbles graces que
je luy donne de l'honneur de son souvenir, et de
l'asseurer de mes obeissances tres humbles et tres
parfaites. Je ne perdrai pas un moment pour
l'affaire de Rome, et j'ay escrit des aujourd'huy
pour prendre quelques prealables qui sont absolu-
ment necessaires et que le voyage vous me dites
avoit retardé. J'ay une extreme joye des dispo-
sitions que M. le Cardinal Mazarin fait paroître
pour le service de sa M.; et j'ay une si forte passion

A.D. 1658 qu'elles soient suivies de bons effets, que j'essaie de me persuader qu'il commence peutestre a cognoistre mieux, qu'il n'a fait par le passé, les véritables interets de la France. Je prendrai toutefois la liberté, puisque S. M. me le commande, de le supplier tres humblement de prendre garde qu'il n'y ayt de l'artifice dans les dispositions qu'il fait paroître et qu'il ne s'en serve dans les suites pour donner des ombrages aux Espagnols: et je crois par consequent qu'il est de la prudence de sa M. de recevoir les avances du Cardinal Mazarin d'une maniere qui luy donne lieu de croire que le Roy est très disposé a oublier le passé; pourveu que l'on luy donne quelque chose effectif et de present. Mais il ne fault manquer en mesme temps de prendre les precautions necessaires avec les Ministres d'Espagne pour prevenir la deffiance que le Cardinal Mazarin mesme affectera peutestre de leur donner. Je suis persuadé que l'on verra dans peu de temps du cœur de ce Ministre, parce que l'affaire est d'une nature qui ne luy donnera pas lieu de jouër et de se couvrir aussi long temps que peutestre il le souhaiteroit. J'ay envoyé un Gentilhomme à Madame la Princesse Royale pour luy tesmoigner la joie que j'ay eue de la mort de Cromwell.

Naden, Oz. 4, 1658.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

ENCORE que je n'aye pas dessein de faire habitude de vous importuner, quand je n'ay rien d'important a vous communiquer. Il est neantmoins necessaire d'escire quelquefois, quand ce ne seroit que pour vous faire scavoir, que nos lettres passent avec seureté et expedition: et celle cy est principalement pour vous faire mes tres humbles reconnoissances de vostre lettre du . . . qui me fust rendue . . . jours

jours apres la datte. Depuis ma derniere on *A.D. 1658*
ne nous a rien escrit de France des bonnes inclina-
tions de M. le Cardinal: et toutes les avances
que le Roy fist a la premiere ouverture qui luy en
fust faite n'estoient que d'escire a la Reine sa mere,
s'il continuoit dans ces bonnes dispositions qu'elle
feroit bien d'essayer s'il y avoit moyen de faire la
Paix entre les deux couronnes, et que le Roy en
fust le mediateur; et que sa M. pouvoit assseurer M.
le Cardinal, s'il vouloit encore obliger le Roy, qu'il
oublieroit tous ses mauvais offices. Nous ne sca-
vons pas encore, si cecy luy a esté rapporté, ou si
c'est qu'on y fait reflexion et qu'on en delibere en-
core. Le calme qui est en Angleterre ne nous met
point en peine: il est naturel et doit durer, jusques
a ce qu'il y ait un Parlement, ou que le peuple
voye qu'il n'y en aura point. Mais nos amis se
trompent fort, ou toutes choses se disposent a un
changement qui nous sera avantageux. Nous som-
mes marris que les Hollandois ont si peu a cœur
les affaires de Dannemarc. Il n'y a rien qui soit
plus agreable au Roy, que de recevoir vos avis
sur tout ce qui le touche.

Brussels, Oct. 17, 1658.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

LA derniere lettre que je vous ay escrite estoit
du 17^e de ce mois: depuis ce temps là je n'ay
point receu de vos commandemens. Je creu neant-
moins qu'il estoit necessaire de vous avertir, que le
Roy receut par la poste de hier des lettres de la
Reine et du my Lord Jermyn qui portent que le
Cardinal avoit esté le jour d'auparavant prendre
congé de sa M. et entre autres choses luy dit,
" qu'il estoit adverti que le Cardinal de Retz

A.D. 1658 (ce sont les parolles de la lettre de la Reyne) avoit
 “ une grande part dans vostre confiance, me di-
 “ sant qu’il en estoit adverti, et tant que cela du-
 “ reroit qu’il seroit bien difficile que vous en
 “ pussiez prendre ny avec la France avec luy, et par
 “ consequent il y auroit de la peine a le persuader de
 “ la sincerité de ce que je luy avois dit de vostre part.

Nous ne scavons pas, si cecy vient de ce que le Cardinal estant naturellement jaloux s’imagine qu’il est vraysemblable, que deux personnes qu’il a tant offensées soient d’une intelligence ensemble, ou qu’en effet il en ait esté adverty, ou bien si c’est qu’il a formé quelque soupçon sur ce qu’auroit pu observer le Dr. Tiercelin (dont je me souviens de vous avoir parlé) par la reception et l’accueil qu’on luy fist, croyant qu’il pourroit avoir esté employé de vostre part. Le Roy fait dessein d’escrire a la Reine qu’il ne nie pas qu’il n’ait beaucoup de bonne volonté pour le Cardinal de Retz, et qu’il souhaite qu’il eust autant de puissance de luy faire du bien, que le Cardinal de Mazarin en a : mais qu’il ne scait pas seulement ou le Cardinal de Retz est, et par consequent qu’il n’y a pas d’apparence qu’il y puisse avoir grand commerce entre eux ; que si ces imaginations sont capables d’empescher que le Cardinal ne preste assistance au Roy, il ne manquera jamais d’excuse pour luy en refuser.

Os. 31, 1658.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

J’AY receu les deux lettres que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de m’escrire, et j’ay veu par la dernière ce que l’on a mandé de Paris au Roy sur mon sujet. Je croirois aisement que le Cardinal Mazarin selon sa coustume eust fait le discours dont il

il s'agit a la volée, et de la mesme maniere que ^{A.D. 1658}
celuy par lequel il avoit asseuré aux Deputés de
mon Chapitre, pendant que j'estois a Cologne,
que j'estois a Bruxelles sous le nom de M. de
Mesni sous pretexte de la conversion du Roy. Il
y a pourtant une circonstance en celuy cy qui me
touche, qui est, que l'on me mande de Paris,
qu'il a dit que j'estois a Harlem, ce qui n'est pas
vray; mais ce qui marque pourtant qu'il a quel-
que veue de la Hollande. Mes amis neantmoins
escrivent qu'il ne scait rien de certain, et qu'ils
croient qu'il n'agit que par conjectures. Comme
je fais estat de sortir bientost de ce pais, elles s'e-
vanouiront; et je vous avoue que quand ce ne
seroit que par la consideration de ce qu'il a dit,
je ne voudrois pas demeurer dans un lieu ou mon
nom pourroit donner le moindre pretexte au mauvais
procedé qu'il tient sur ce qui touche le service du
Roy, qui me sera tousjours plus cher et plus pre-
cieux que ma propre vie. Je vous supplie d'asseurer
sa Majesté de mes tres humbles obeissances, et de
croire, que comme je me sens tres obligé a sa M.
en son particulier, et que je l'honore et l'estime tres
parfaitement, je considere l'honneur de ses bonnes
graces, comme une des choses du monde qui me
sera tousjours la plus sensible.

Alkmar, Nov. 6, 1658.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

AYant fait reflexion que les lettres que le Roy
a escrites pour Rome sont dattées de quelque
temps devant la mort de Cromwell; il me semble,
qu'il seroit a propos que l'on y put montrer quel-
que chose qui marqua que ceste circonstance ne
change en rien la resolution de sa Majesté, et pour
cela sans se donner la peine de faire de nouvelles
lettres,

A.D. 1658 lettres, je crois qu'il fuffit que le Roy me faſſe l'honneur de m'eſcrire une lettre par laquelle il me commande d'agir en cette affaire avec le plus de promptitude qu'il me ſera poſſible; qu'il ayt auſſi la bonté d'eſcrire un mot à l'Abbé Cherrier qui
de x Roquevive

eſt dans ce chiffre 18 par lequel il luy marque que la mort de Cromwell le confirme encore d'avantage dans le deſir qu'il a de prendre une veritable liaiſon avec le Pape. Je crois auſſi qu'il ſeroit neceſſaire que ceſte lettre a de Roquevive porta un pouvoir de conclure et ſigner le Traité avec le Pape, aux conditions que le Roy a preſcrites, afin je ne laiſſer aucun pretexte aux longueurs qui ne ſont que trop naturelles aux gens a qui nous avons affaire. Si le Roy trouve ces ouvertures à propos, vous n'aurez ſil vous plaïſt qu'envoier ces deux lettres par la voye ordinaire à Amſterdam. Il n'y a point de temps à perdre pour cela, afin que les lettres puiſſent eſtre à temps entre les mains de 18. Je ſupplie le Roy de me croire abſolument à luy.

Dec. 16, 1658.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

VOicy les deux lettres que le Roy a eſcrites ſur le ſujet, dont la lettre que m'avez faite l'honneur de m'eſcrire du 16 de ce mois fait mention. Vous jugerez aiſement qu'il eſt impoſſible que ſa M. vous puiſſe donner une plus grande preuve de la confiance qu'il elle a en voſtre amitié, qu'en ſe reposant ſur vous de la conduite d'un Traité de cette importance. Elle ſ'aſſeure que vous le meſnagerez de telle façon qu'à moins elle ne receut point de prejudice des avances qu'elle fait.

Les

Les lettres d'Angleterre portent que Cromwell ^{A.D. 1658} se trouve contraint de convoquer un Parlement; mais le temps n'est pas encore déterminé. On dit que le Commandeur de Souvray & M. de Lionne doivent aller à Madrid pour traiter du mariage du Roy avec l'Infante; et par conséquent de la Paix. Sa Majesté vous prie en cas que cela soit de disposer le Pape à recommander ses intérêts aux deux Couronnes, afin qu'ils soient compris dans le Traité.

Je seray tousjours en allarme, jusques à ce que j'aye appris que ces lettres vous auront esté rendues, à cause de l'importance du secret. Je suis et seray tousjours de V. E. &c.

Bruxelles, Dec. 23, 1658.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

VOUS pouvez juger avec quels sentimens de ^{A.D. 1659} respect et de reconnoissance je recois l'honneur que le Roy me fait, et les marques qu'il me donne de sa confiance. Je crois, Monsieur, que vous ne doutez pas aussi que je n'en abuserai jamais, et que le pouvoir que le Roy à envoyé ne servira pas pour conclure sans ses ordres expres, mais seulement pour ne laisser aucun lieu à la cour de Rome de demander pour le commencement de la negotiation des prealables, qui seront mieux assurement pour le service de sa Majesté lorsque l'on ne les mettera qu'à la conclusion. J'ay envoyé le tout à *de Roquevive* par un courier expres: & selon les nouvelles que j'auray de luy, je ne manquerai pas de rendre un compte tres fidel et tres exacte au Roy de tous les pas qui se feront de part et d'autre dans cette affaire. Je vous supplie d'avoir la bonté d'asseurer S. M. de mes obeissances tres humbles, et de

A.D. 1659 croire en vostre particulier qu'il n'y à personne au monde qui honore plus veritablement vostre Excellence, qui fasse plus de cas de ses bonnes graces, & qui souhaite avec plus de passion de les meriter par des services. J'apprends que la santé du Pape se confirme plustot qu'elle diminue.

J'ay trouvé sur mon chemin toutes les Gazettes pleines de mon accommodement : à quoy peut servir cette meschante route.

A Salsbourg et 7 de Fevrier, 1659.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

J'A Y esté fort aisé d'apprendre par la lettre du 7 de ce mois que vous m'avez faicte l'honneur de m'escire, que la depesche dont elle fait mention vous avoit esté rendue : et le Roy m'a commandé de renouveler icy les assurances de l'estime qu'il à pour V. E. et de la confiance qu'il aura tousjours en elle.

Tout ce qui est arrivé depuis la seance du Parlement nous confirme dans l'esperance que nous avions de voir naistre des desordres parmy ces gens là. La chambre basse à desja chocqué l'autorité du Protecteur, et il y à apparence qu'ils se brouilleront encore d'avantage ; mesme il se pourra faire que devant que cette lettre vous soit rendue, leurs divisions s'esclateront, et que nos amis en pourront profiter : au moins me persuade-je, que se presentera des occasions favorables, et que les Roy s'en pourroit prevaloir, si on le seconde icy. Mais si je me promets beaucoup de la conjoncture presente, et de la chaleur de nos amis au de là, j'ay raison d'apprehender la longueur des Ministres icy, et de croire, que si
Dieu

Dieu veut le reſtaſſement du Roy à ce coup, ce *A.D. 1659*
ſera par quelque revolution en Angleterre.

On parle beaucoup icy de la paix generale, et nous eſperons qu'on y travaille tout de bon; parce qu'on nous eſcrit que le Card. Mazarin teſmôigne y avoir des veritables diſpoſitions. Don Juan dit hier au ſoir à un de nos Miniſtres, que hors le Portugal ou la France vouloit une Treve et l'Eſpagne continuer la guerre, que tous les autres points eſtoient arreſtés: il adjouſta, ſi elle ſe faisoit, que les intereſts du Roy y ſeroient compris. Nos Gazettes auſſi ſouvent fait mention del accommodeſment de V. E. mais cela n'a pas fait grande impreſſion ſur les eſprits, et on avoit beaucoup de peine à croire que vous euſſiez voulu ceder voſtre Archeveſché; comme il eſtoit porte par le pretendu traitté.

Don Juan eſt party d'icy aujourd'huy. Le Marquis de Caracena le doit accompagner juſqu'à Cambray, et ne reviendra qu'en dix jours d'icy. Il commandera en chef durant l'interregne.

Je recois avec la ſouſmiſſion que je dois les civilitez de V. E. et feray tousjours gloire d'eſtre du nombre de ſes plus humbles et obeiſſans ſerviteurs.

Bruxelles, ce 1 de Mars, 1659.

The Cardinal de Retz to the M. of Ormonde.

DANS le moment que le Courier part, je recois une fort grande depeſche de Rome de l'Abbé Cherrier, autrement de Roquevive, qu'il eſt impoſſible de deſchiffrer aſſez en temps pour vous en mander la ſubſtance. Se ne manquerai pas de vous en rendre compte par le premier ordinaire. Vous pouvez croire qu'il n'y a perſonne au monde, qui ayt plus de joie que moy des bonnes diſpoſitions qui paroïſſent en Angleterre. Je ſuis tout à vous de tout
mon

A.D. 1659 mon cœur. Ecrivez moi, je vous prie, de temps en temps la suite des choses qui pourront servir à fortifier la negotiation de Rome.

Issprux, 17 Mars, 1659.

The M. of Ormonde to the Cardinal de Retz.

SE receu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 17 Mars: et j'espère que la despeche que vous veniez de recevoir de Rome. Nous éclairera des intentions du Pape à l'égard du Roy, qui dans cette conjoncture pourroit beaucoup profiter des marques de l'amitié de sa sainteté.

Les divisions entre Cromwell et les Republicains s'augmentent tous les jours, et si on peut faire fondement sur les plus belles apparences du monde, et sur l'assurance que nous donnent nos amis d'une rupture et des efforts qu'ils ont résolu de faire pour appuyer les intérêts du Roy, nous devons croire qu'il y aura bientôt quelque chose à faire pour nous. C'est tout ce que je puis dire présentement pour fortifier la negotiation de Rome. Je me hazarderois à dire beaucoup d'avantage, si nous nous pouvions promettre quelque assistance considérable de Messieurs les Espagnols, mais leurs affaires sont en trop grand désordre, et nos nécessités auxquelles ils ne donnent point de remède insupportable. Je suis avec toute sorte de respect et passion, &c.

à Bruxelles, ce 7 Avril, 1659.

The King to the Princess Dowager of Orange.

VOUS pouvez croire que depuis la mort de Cromwell et l'élection de son fils à sa succession, mes pensées ne sont employées que sur les changemens qui en peuvent naître, aussi bien en Angleterre

Angleterre que par deçà : et vous m'estes tefmoin *A.D. 1659*
que mes premieres reflections m'ont porté a fouhai-
ter que Messieurs les Estats voudroient reconnoistre
leurs vrais interets en mon establissement par leurs
assiftances, plustost qu'en tachant de soutenir une
usurpation et tyrannie qui n'ayant que l'injustice pour
fondement ne peut subsister que par la violence et la
fourberie. Que je vous marque leur vray interest
est une chose si claire, qu'il faut necessairement con-
clure que la raison qui les empesche de la poursuivre
ne peut estre que la difficulté qu'ils apprehendent en
l'execution. Ou bien une mesiance mal fondé de
moy : et le malheur est que toutes les voyes de les
approcher ou de traiter avec eux me sont rendu
presqu' impossible. Autrement je ne doute pas que
je ne les pourrois faire voir que jamais Prince ou Re-
publique n'entreprit un dessein plus avantageux, plus
juste, plus glorieux, ni plus facile que celuy que je
leur proposerois ; et que ayant tant de sujet que j'ay
de souhaiter de leur avoir l'obligation de mon esta-
blissement, il me seroit impossible apres un tel bien-
fait de leur estre ingrat ou infidelle sans me declarer
au mesme temps le plus foible et le plus infame des
hommes.

Mais, Madame, en prenant la liberté de desirer
d'estre informé d'une chose de vous, j'espere de vous
faire voir qu'il est impossible que je puis estre capable
d'un tel pensée, apres vous avoir desiré de vous
engager et interesser pour moy ; c'est ce que je vous
prie s'il vous plaist de me faire scavoir si vous estes
en estat de recevoir une proposition de ma part tou-
chant vostre fille, et qui si vous l'estes : et je vous
supplie de me faire scavoir comment je vous le puis
adresser avec le secret qu'il me semble vous estre
egalement necessaire. Se scay bien que je ne tienn
pas la metode ordinairement observée en telles af-
faires, mais vous pouvez voir par cela l'estime que
j'ay pour vostre fille et a quel point je me fie a vous.

A.D. 1639 Le porteur de cette lettre ne scait pas qu'elle vient de moi : et si vous voyez à propos de faire une response par luy, vous n'avez qu'adresser la dessus avec Marquis d'Ormonde.

The same in English.

THE alterations which are reasonably to be expected, as well in England, as in the councils of Princes and States on this side the sea, from *Cromwell's* death, and his son's succession to his usurpation, you may easily believe are the continual subject of my thoughts : and you can bear me witness, that my first reflections were upon the States of the United Provinces, as my wishes now are, that they would see it be their true interest, that the government of my kingdoms should return, and that by their assistance, from so prodigious and unstable a tyranny, to that antient and rightful form, that it hath pleased God for our sins to interrupt by the marvellous success of perfidious rebels. That it is their true interest is so manifest, that there can be no reason why they do not pursue it, but the difficulty they may apprehend to be in the work, or the mistrust that may have been infused to them of me by my enemies, or such as know me not. But if all the ways of approaching and treating with them were not shut upon me, I could make it evident to them, that as no Prince or State ever undertook a design of more lasting profit or glory, so there was never in any action of much less importance a more demonstrable facility. And I could make it no less evident to them, that as I have all imaginable reason to wish myself restored rather by them than by any other people but my own ; so it is impossible for me to prove ungrateful after such a benefit, or to violate any the least part of what I shall engage myself

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myself to, without being as well the most foolish, *A.D. 1658*
as the most infamous person in the world.

But I shall, in asking you a question, make it clear enough to you, that I cannot have so vile a thought as to make you the instrument of my deceit: I beseech you to let me know, whether your daughter, the Princess *Harriette*, be so far engaged, that you cannot receive a proposition from me concerning her: and if she be not, that you would think of a way, how, with all possible secrecy, I may convey my mind in that particular to you. I know this is not the usual form in which such affairs are treated: but as my present condition and yours are extraordinary, so you may see is my value for you and your daughter, and my confidence in your honour. The messenger who carries this, knows not it is for you; you will be pleased to cause your answer to be return'd as you think best to

Yours, &c.

*Letter of the Protector Richard Cromwell to
G. Downing, Envoy Extraordinary in Hol-
land.*

S I R,

I HAVE been acquainted with both your letters *A.D. 1658*
written to Mr. Secretary, one of the 4th, the other of the 10th instant, O. S. as also with the concept which came inclosed of several articles of peace to be agreed upon betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. And upon consideration thereof, I have thought fit to return you this answer, which is to be your rule in treating with the Commissioners of the States General upon that subject.

1. I think it reasonable that the treaty of *Rochild* be the ground of the peace to be made betwixt the
said

A.D. 1658 said two Kings, with such alterations and conditions as shall be necessary, and as the present affairs do require: But do think it very impracticable for any persons to agree those alterations in precise and positive terms, without first hearing what can be said by both the Kings who are concerned in them. And therefore, as to the alterations, I judge it most conducive to our ends to leave them to our public Ministers to do therein, upon the place, as they shall find affairs to stand at the time of the treaty.

2. As to what is mentioned in your letter about staying the fleet for a time, it is much better that both sides should agree to send no aid nor assistance whatsoever, either by land or sea, to either of those two Kings for this year; which we are ready to agree to: As also that in case our fleet should be gone towards the Sound before we receive an answer hereunto, if the States General shall think fit to call back the fleet they have here, and send no other, we shall also recal ours, and so leave the whole business on both sides to be manag'd by the Mediators, hoping that if We, France, and the States General do join therein, a peace may be effected without arms.

3. As to the Tolls and Customs in the Sound and Belt, we are ready to agree that they be not raised upon either of these two States, or France, by any whosoever shall have power there, and that all be guarantee to each other therein.

4. We shall be ready to use our best endeavours with the King of *Sweden* to remove all misunderstandings that may fall out betwixt him and the United Provinces, and that they may have satisfaction upon the Treaty of *Elbing*, with the elucidations wherein the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the town of *Dantzick* may be also comprehended if they will. And as to that of a peace betwixt *Sweden* and *Poland*, it will be as hard as the former, to descend

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descend to particular agreements betwixt them: But *A.D. 1658*
our endeavours shall not be wanting (with advice
of the States General) to compose those differences,
and end that war also: Which particulars we com-
mend to your careful and prudent management,
and rest

Whitsball, March 15, 1658.

Yours, &c.

*Second Letter of Richard Cromwell to George
Downing.*

S I R,

I HAVE received yours of the 22d of *March* and *A.D. 1659*
the 1st of *April*, with a draught of Articles of
a peace to be endeavour'd between the Kings of
Sweden and *Denmark*, as also some other papers
which came along therewith. Upon the perusal
thereof, I do observe some difficulties, which must
needs very much obstruct the proceedings in this
business, unless they be remov'd.

The first is, That Monsieur *de Witte* hath no au-
thority, either from the States General, or States
of Holland, to propound, much less to agree upon,
the aforesaid articles of peace, or any other that
shall be propounded by us. So that if he by these
propositions hath a design to gain from us a decla-
ration of our mind, he may make an advantage of
it to our prejudice with the King of *Sweden*, and
then may find means to excuse himself, for not a-
greeing to what you shall offer, upon the impossi-
bility that he shall find to satisfy the States therein.

2. We find among your papers the draught of a
letter written by the King of *Denmark* to the States,
and an answer from the said States to the said King,
assuring him that they will by no means be diverted
from sending their fleet and relief to him, wishing
him

A.D. 1659 him to depend thereupon, and to take his measures thereby upon all occasions. Which seemeth to us to be contradictory unto the fifth article of the concept you sent us, which saith, that he of the said two Kings which will not consent to make peace on the terms expressed in the said concept, shall receive no succours from the English, French, or the States General; and that if any succours have been given, they shall be revoked. So that we have here the absolute promise and engagement of the States to send their fleet with succours, and nothing but M. *de Witte's* proposition as a private person, and promise to endeavour the contrary: and therefore it is in no sort equal or safe for us, nor reasonable for them to expect, that upon a proposition made in this manner by a private person, contrary to what the States have already engaged themselves to do, we should make stay of our fleet, until it can be seen what issue can be put to this treaty, upon hopes that they will also stay their fleet, when it appears in fact that they are not yet ready. And indeed we have some ground of jealousy, that this proposition is only made to amuse us till they can set their fleet to sea; and then it will be very easy, upon several pretences, to break off this treaty, and render it of no effect. And whereas you say in your letter, that you cannot be able to effect any thing with *de Witte*, till you can assure him that you have authority to sign and seal, and that nothing must be mentioned of this business until you have received your authorities, and can be positive therein with him; we have the same reason to be careful not to discover ourselves till we have the like assurances. However, we were willing in our last letter of the 15th of *March*, to let you know what we thought convenient to be agreed upon by Us, France, and the United Provinces, in order to the settling of the peace in the Eastern Parts. And we are of opinion, that

that if these two States had joined together to make ^{A.D. 1658} a peace upon the terms which we propounded in our said letter of the 15th of *March*, it might have been effected; especially if these two States could have agreed in the first place not to have given any succour or relief to either King, till it might have been seen what could have been done thereupon; which we perceive the States are not inclined to agree unto, but that they judge it as necessary for them to give succours unto the King of *Denmark*, whilst this treaty is in agitation; which we believe to be destructive to the ends which both sides profess they aim at. That therefore which we think necessary to say to you farther upon this subject, is, that besides what we have impowered you to do by our foresaid letters, we are willing to agree that the third article of the *Roschild* Treaty, which concerneth foreign hostile ships, be amended, and reduced to the treaties which are already betwixt these States. Secondly, As to the Tolls; whereas it is propounded that they should remain as they are already settled by the treaties betwixt Us and the King of *Denmark* and the United Provinces 1645, we think it safer to express it in general terms, that they be not raised by any one whomsoever that shall have the possession of those places: and there may be some reasons why it may not be safe for us to mention that treaty of 1645, because the Dutch may have some advantage by it in point of Tolls above the English.

Secondly, As to part of that article whereby the Swede should be debarred from raising any custom in that passage, we know not how far the Swede may claim a right to have part of the Toll by virtue of the treaty of *Roschild*: but we are ready to agree, that neither one nor the other, nor both together, should raise the Tolls in the whole above what they now are or ought to be. And we believe that it

A.D. 1658 will not be hard for the Ministers of both the States to settle what is in difference between the two Kings upon this of the Tolls.

As to the Treaty of *Elbing*, with the confirmation thereof, and the elucidations, we in our said letter expressed our readiness to do all good offices to effect the same: and we continue still in the same mind, and shall be as hearty to obtain for them what may be reasonable from the King of *Sweden*, as to settle our own concerns with him. But it will be too great an imposition upon him, if we should agree to constrain him to that which we have not at all heard him in, nor know how the difference standeth.

If upon these grounds you can agree a Treaty, this and our former letter shall be your authority for the same; in the management whereof you must be very careful; first, that you treat with persons that are equally authorized with yourself; and secondly, that no assistance be given by either unto either side, until it be seen what our endeavours by the said two Kings can bring things unto. So we rest

Whitehall, March 30,
1659.

Your Loving Friend.

Richard Cromwell to Mr. Downing.

S I R,

I HAVE this day received yours of the ^{25th March,} ^{4th April,} 1659 by the post. Before the receipt of it, I had prepared an answer to yours which came by the *Drake* frigate, and have now sent that and also my answer to your last both together by an express. Upon comparing your two letters together I find, that besides the Treaty which

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which you had with Monsieur *de Witte*, there is A.D. 1659
one begun with the Deputies of the States General, and that you and the French Ambassador have made three propositions to them, whereto they have given an answer; and that their answer is such, as seems to alter the whole state of the Treaty. For whereas it was propounded between you, the French Ambassador, and Mr. *de Witte*, that the Treaty of *Roschild* should be the measure of the Peace to be made between the two Kings, the Deputies of the States offer the Treaty of *Brunsbrow* made in the year 1645: which seems to us somewhat strange, and in some measure confirms us in the jealousy we express'd in our letter to you; That what was offered by Mr. *de Witte* was but to amuse us, whilst they prepared the fleet; which I perceive by your last, will not be ready these three weeks: and it now puts us to a great stand to know what to do in this business, seeing we and they judge so differently of this affair. For we for our part cannot think it just and reasonable so much as to attempt the persuading of the King of *Sweden* to go back to the Treaty of *Brunsbrow*, much less to agree to force him to it. And we should not have intermeddled in this way of a Treaty, if Mr. *de Witte* had not positively declared himself, that the States would go upon the Treaty of *Roschild*, in the ending of the war: However being willing to leave nothing undone on our part which may bring this business to a good issue, though we cannot guess much at the mind of the States General by the conferences you have had with their Deputies, unless it be (as before I have said) that their fleet being not yet ready they would by the Treaty prevail with us to make stay of our fleet until theirs be fit to put to sea. Yet we have by our inclosed letter given you authority to proceed to an agreement upon the terms

A.D. 1659 and in the manner therein expressed; which are such as seem to us reasonable and more likely to agree the two fighting Kings, than the way propounded either by *de Witte* or the Deputies. The difference lies chiefly in two things.

I. The first is, that Mr. *de Witte* would have all things agreed upon at the *Hague* beforehand between Us, *France* and the States General, according to the concept received from you.

II. The second is, That the fleets of both sides should be staid for six weeks; in which time it's supposed that this Treaty between these three States may be perfected.

As to the first we do agree thus far.

I. That the Treaty of *Roschild* be the foundation of the peace; it being that which both *France* and we have been the mediators of: but cannot speak of that of *Brunsbrow*.

II. That the third article of the Treaty, which concerns the foreign hostile ships of war should be altered, so as the prejudice which is conceived to be to these three States be removed.

III. That the tolls and payment in the *Sound* and *Belts* be not raised upon the subject of these States for the future by any whomsoever.

IV. That we and *France* will use our best endeavours with the King of *Sweden* to remove any misunderstandings which are fallen out between him and the States General, and particularly to accommodate between them the Treaty of *Elbing* with the elucidations, expecting that the States will use their interest with the King of *Denmark* for his agreeing to what shall be necessary for *England* to have from him in point of trade and commerce, both in respect of the Tolls and otherwise.

V. That we shall join with *France* and the States General to guarantee the Treaty which shall be made between the two Kings.

VI.

VI. That we will join with *France* and the *A.D. 1659* States in making a peace between the King of *Sweden* and the King of *Poland* and Elector of *Brandenburg* upon reasonable conditions, so as the Treaty and Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark* be not retarded thereby.

That as to any farther alterations of or additions to the Treaty of *Roschild*, we judge it better to be done upon the place by the respective Ministers in presence of both the Kings for the reasons we have already given, than to come to a certainty here upon matters which may appear very unreasonable and unjust in themselves after both sides are heard, and all the reason which is given for going the other way is only the constitution of the government of the States; which being a thing out of our knowledge, we cannot ground ourselves upon in affairs of this nature.

As to the second point touching our fleet.

I. We did propound at first, that neither side might give assistance or aid to either for this summer by shipping or otherwise; but that *England*, *France*, and the *Low Countries* should have endeavoured to have made the peace by their publick Ministers before the applying of force thereunto.

II. That if the fleets did go, that yet it might be agreed the number of ships to be sent by either, and also that they might go as common friends and use their joint endeavours to agree those two Kings upon the terms before expressed, and not to give any aid or assistance whatsoever to either, until it might be seen whether a peace would be effected or not, and a certain time agreed wherein this trial might be made of the joint counsels and endeavours of all these three States; and if nothing would be effected within that time, that then it should be at liberty for all or any of these

A.D. 1659 three States to assist against that King which shall be obstinate and unreasonable.

And to prevent any disadvantage which may fall out to either King during this Treaty, either by the King of *Sweden's* assaulting *Copenhagen*, or the King of *Denmark's* transportation of the forces in *Jutland* and *Holstein* under the Elector of *Brandenburgh* into the Danish Islands, a cessation of arms might be endeavoured in the first place. Upon these grounds we have by our Commissioners spoke with Mr. *Nieuport* the Dutch Ambassador for the settling of these affairs, and for want of powers and authorities in him to transact any thing we have authorized you to prosecute it with the States General and Mr. *de Thou* the French Ambassador at the *Hague*. But it having pleased the States not to think fit to make stay of their fleet longer than six weeks, (and as we hear they will not be ready to go much sooner than that time) we have already sent away our fleet towards the *Sound*: so that any agreement to stay both the fleets is not now practicable; but the agreement is now to be in reference to the being of both the fleets upon the place. And as to that, if the six things mentioned in this letter be agreed upon between Us, *France* and the *Low Countries*, and the Admirals have instructions in a joint way to endeavour a peace upon those terms between those two Kings, without giving any aid or assistance to either, in the manner herein before expressed, through the blessing of God a peace may be suddenly settled between them. And this is all we can say upon this subject; save that in case you come to an agreement, you must be sure to have it clearly express'd that their fleet do not go or send any succours or relief unto *Copenhagen* during the time to be agreed upon for endeavouring the peace by a Treaty, nor endeavour the passing through the *Sound*, or *Belt* into

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into the *Baltick* sea, or join themselves either to *A.D. 1659*
the Danish fleet or their own fleet now in those
parts: and we on our parts will during that time
oblige ourself not to assist either. And in case
you agree this Treaty, you shall send forthwith a
copy of it to General *Mountague* by an express,
who shall have orders to act accordingly. And
this with our former letters shall be your warrant
for the proceeding you shall make upon this affair.
And so we rest,

Yours, &c.

Whitehall, April 1st, 1659.

G. Downing to Secretary Thurloe.

Right Honourable,

THE French Ambassador and myself were
yesterday in conference with the Deputies of
the States General, from about 8 a clock in the
morning until noon, and before two in the after-
noon until about midnight: and in fine have
drawn up a Treaty to be made between *England*,
France and the United Provinces; a copy whereof
is here inclosed, which for haste I have sent with-
out translating, and we are to meet again to morrow
morning by 8 of the clock. And having once
then reviewed it, I desire it may be turned into
Latin, so what is signed may be in Latin; which
I did desire that so you might not be put to the
trouble (as in the business of the *East-India* ships)
to translate it afterwards for his Highness's ratifica-
tion. I did press that in the third article the *Peages*
or Tolls in the *Sound* might have been set down in
general terms, that they be not heightened above
what they are at present: but the Deputies of the
States said that it was very uncertain to set it down,
for that the Officers of the King of *Denmark* have

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always

A.D. 1659 always been very exacting above what they ought, and therefore that the only safe way to regulate it was according to what ought to have been taken, and not according to what was. And it is so worded as if any advantage in point of Tolls be to the subject of the United Provinces by their Treaty made with the King of *Denmark* in the year 1645, the same shall be for the future to his Highness's subjects, so that the expressing that article as it is now set down can be no prejudice, but indeed on the contrary will be advantage to *England*. And I have also caused it to be set down in the fourth article, that the United Provinces shall not only in general use their endeavours, that his Highness's subjects may have granted to them by the King of *Denmark* what is necessary for them in point of trade and commerce and toll, but in particular that they may have all such privileges and immunities or exemptions as the subjects of the United Provinces do enjoy in any of the King of *Denmark's* kingdoms or estates: and they do (as tells me) at this day enjoy great privileges above the English; as particularly they are to pay no greater tolls or duties in his kingdoms and estates, than the subjects of *Denmark*; and although that in the Treaty between the King of *Denmark* and this State there is a reciprocation, that the subjects of *Denmark* are able to enjoy the like privileges in the United Provinces, yet telling *de Witte* that this could not be granted in *England*, for that by the Law of *England*, which no Treaty could invalidate, strangers are to pay stranger's customs, which are near double what the natives pay. I have obtained that this State do oblige themselves to endeavour to their utmost the procuring that privilege for his Highness's subjects in *Denmark* without the reciprocation; and this at the same time that his Highness shall endeavour the procuring forth the passing

passing of the treaty of *Elbing* by the King of *Sweden*. Nor are they more to expect or sooner his Highness his procuring the passing of that Treaty than their procuring for his Highness's subjects this and other privileges which they have in *Denmark*. It's farther charged in the said fourth article of the Treaty of *Elbing* with its elucidations, as the King of *Sweden* consented to them at *Thorne*, for that those were the lowest and smallest elucidations, and the other propositions of elucidations were higher. I suppose I shall prevail with the French Ambassador to sign all, though he have no orders, that this business of so great importance may not be retarded through the want thereof. I shall keep the *Swallow* frigate which brought his Highness's last express to me, she being a nimble boat of ten guns, that so I may with quickness and safety be able after the signing to send a copy to General *Montague*, and I think for more sureness and quickness, that this State will in her, or at the same time, send their Ministers which are to go to *Denmark*. They do doubt that the King of *Sweden* would not suffer any ship of their own to pass with them, and it would be too longsome to stay for passports. I thought it my duty forthwith to dispatch this express by a boat which I have hired on purpose for that end from *Skeveling*, that so his Highness may have as sudden an account as is possible how far things are advanced. I have not yet any directions from you what I shall do in relation to the order of setting his Highness's name in this Treaty: and for my own part I shall not do any thing that may tend in the least to derogate from his Highness's honour. The French Ambassador hath much pressed that his Highness might be put after the King of *France* in that part which I am to sign. I offered that I could sign one part for him and with him, in which the King of *France* should

A.D. 1659 should be before his Highness, so as he would sign one part for me and with me, in which his Highness should be before the King of *France*: but he refusing that, I have so ordered as that we will sign all to each of the parts of the Accord or Treaty, but that he alone shall sign that which he shall give me, and I alone sign that which I will give him; and so in his which he signs he will put the King of *France* before his Highness, and in that which I sign, I will put his Highness before the King of *France*; and the States their Deputies to sign alone the part which they are to give us, and therein to do as they use, which they say hath always been to put the King of *France* before the King of *England*. And thus I have avoided putting my hand to any thing which might any ways derogate from his Highness; and I have so ordered it as that the French Ambassador and I have had no words about it; but that the business hath been managed by *de Witte*, and as if it had come of himself and not from me. But when the French Ambassador hath signed, yet I believe he will make difficulty of receiving mine: however that will be his loss, when he shall have signed and delivered and thereby engaged his Master, and yet have received nothing reciprocally. He urged much that in the Treaty of *Roschild* Mr. *Meadows* is qualified with that stile of Ambassador, and yet put after Mr. *Trelon*, and not only so, but in the copies which Mr. *Meadows* signed, his Highness is put after the King of *France*. I replied, I could not answer for other men's actions: but besides that was not a Treaty in which his Highness was as a principal, nor which was to be signed and sealed by himself, as this is; and that I suppose the French Ambassador knew this was not the first Treaty that had been made between *England* and *France*, and that it was not now to debate whether *England* would

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would rank itself by its own act after *France*; but as how others would rank it we could not say. I could have been heartily glad I might have had your exprefs orders in the business as I so earnestly desired, but for want thereof I have done as above-said, and am,

Right honourable,

Yours, &c.

G. DOWNING

The fleet of this State is (as I wrote you by the post) not yet ready; all yet wanting me except those prepared by the Admiralty of *Amsterdam*, who are near provided. Men are much troubled that the English fleet is before them. The fleets which were preparing at *Amsterdam* with all speed to go help convoy over the Elector of *Brandenburg's* forces, know not how to get into the *Sound*, and General *Montague* and the King of *Sweden's* fleet will, I suppose, look after them (if they should come) and after Admiral *Opdam*, that he attempt no such thing.

Hague, April 10, 20. 1659.

Letter of Rich. Cromwell to G. Downing.

S I R,

WE have seen yours of the 10th of *April* 1659, written to Mr. Secretary, with the inclosed articles, which we have perused and compared with the instructions sent you by us upon the subject, as they are set down in our several letters of the 15th of *March*, the 30th of *March*, and 1st of *April*. And there appears to us something in the articles, which needs farther explanation

A.D. 1659 tion before the Treaty be concluded. I shall with all possible speed send you by an exprefs the particulars; but have immediately upon the receipt hereof sent back your servant to you with this our pleasure, That you do forbear to sign or farther proceed upon these articles, until you shall receive our farther directions: and in case you have signed them, (which we hope not) that you do not send them to General *Montague*. The exprefs shall be sent to you with all possible speed. I rest

Yours, &c.

Whitehall, April 13, 1659.

Letter of R. Cromwell to General Montague.

My Lord,

YOU will receive herewith copies of several letters written by us to Mr. *Downing* our Resident at the *Hague* touching a Treaty between Us, the King of *France* and the States General, in reference to the affairs of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; as also a copy of a letter written to us by the said Mr. *Downing*, with certain articles which it seems were almost or altogether agreed upon between him, the French Ambassador there and the Deputies of the said States; which we having perused and considered of, and finding by his letter that his intention was to transmit those articles unto you, we thought it necessary to send away forthwith this exprefs to you, and to let you know that we do in no sort approve of those articles, being (I know not upon what mistake) framed contrary to our intentions, and are not warranted by the instructions which we gave to Mr. *Downing*; and therefore immediately upon the receipt of them, which was last night, we writ to the *Hague* willing the said Mr.

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Mr. *Downing* not to proceed farther upon that *A.D. 1659*
Treaty, nor to send it unto you, as you will see by
the copy of our letter unto him of the 13th instant.
But lest he should have dispatched away his letters
to you before the arrival of ours with him, these are
to signify our pleasure to you, that although the
aforesaid articles should come to your hands, with
letters from him, you are to take no notice of
them, but to pursue your former instructions, un-
til you shall receive farther directions from our-
self: and if you find it necessary, you may as-
sure the two Kings, or either of them, that those
articles have been made by a mistake, and that we
gave no authority to our Resident to conclude up-
on any such articles. And so we rest

Yours, &c.

Whiteball, April 14, 1659.

RICHARD P.

Lord Mordaunt to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

IF we may depend on the word and honour of
Colonel *Popham* and Mr. *Howe*, they will imme-
diately begin the war. *Massey* sent up an express
yesterday to inform him of the good condition of
those parts. Mr. *Howe* quits the town to-morrow.
Truly, if they be not secured, I am of opinion the
design will succeed. We earnestly long for Mr.
Baron's return, that we may know what to depend
on from you. The King will shew you what I
write. I humbly beg you to send an express next
day. Our party are now to see the war begun.
All here is in high confusion, being upon the dis-
placing of all Officers both military and civil; yet
it appears to settle; therefore we must not slip the
occasion.

A.D. 1659 occasion. This person is as well instructed as can be; which makes me refer the particulars to his relation. God send us to meet once more with swords in our hands. My very humble service to the Lord Chancellor, to whom I cannot write now; but will at large when I am retired, which will be to-morrow for good and all, till I appear like,

My Lord,

Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

May 11, 1659.

*Treaty concluded at the Hague, May 11, 1659.
between France, Holland, and R. Cromwell.*

CUM Anglia Galliaque non sine mœrore ac summa animorum molestia deprehenderint bellum nuper recruduisse, atque etiamnum trahi, inter Serenissimos Sueciæ Daniæque Reges, cujus causæ, adscribuntur controversiis, ob Pacis conditiones Rœschildia die ^{Martii viii} ~~Februarii xxi~~ Anno CIOCLVIII. initæ implendas, exortis, cui fanciendæ tam hæc quam illa gnaviter insudarant, partium suarum esse censuerunt, omnem diligentiam omnemque operam bello huic amoliendo adhibere. Quapropter persuasum habentes, nec convenientiorem nec promptiorem modum excogitari posse, quo propositi ac voti hujus fierent compotes, quam si fœdere, inter sese hanc in rem inito, ad Pacem denuo stabiliendam, Regum utrique, medias se offerrent, quoque melius res verteret, omnesque cum impedimentis obices procul haberentur, Fœderatas quoque Belgii Provincias ad officium id ipsum invitandas esse duxerunt, ut collatâ in unum sedulitate, industriæque, tam pio & laudabili instituto speratus tandem exitus obtingeret. Atque eo magis in hanc euram incumbendum sibi esse arbitratae sunt, quod

non

non agi solummodo animadverterent, de fancien-
dâ, inter duos Reges vicinos & vinculo cognationis
sibi invicem adstrictos concordia, deque amovendis,
quas in perniciem populorum non paucas, bella se-
cum trahunt, calamitatibus ac miseriis, deque in-
staurandis per tractum Maris Balthici commerciis,
quæ interrupta, longe plurimum incommodi, tam
vicinis quam remotis gentibus essent allatura: ve-
rum etiam quod metuendum præterea, & quidem
unicè videretur, ne mora belli hujus diuturnior,
Europam universam collideret, Principibus pleris-
que aut ex foederum pactorumve lege aut ex aliâ
quavis necessitudine Regum alterutri opem laturis,
ac proinde inter sese manu mox armata committen-
dis. Quæ omnia cum a tribus jam prædictis stati-
bus providè perpensa essent, post communicata sæpe
consilias, remque penitus disceptatam inter eorundem
Legatum, Residentem, ac Commissarios ad id De-
putatos, videlicet Illustrissimum & Excellentissimum
Dominum Jacobum Augustum Thuanum, Comitem
de Meslay, Regi Christianissimo à Secretioribus Con-
siliis & ad Præpotentes Fœderati Belgii Ordines le-
gatum: Dominum Georgium Downing, Armige-
rum, & Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Angliæ, Scotiæ,
& Hiberniæ Protectoris Residentem: Dominos Jo-
hannem Baronem de Ghent, Dominum in Osterwede,
Præfectum Curiae Feudalis, nec non Primarium in
Falcoburgo Judicem, &c. Johannem Baronem de
Merode Dominum de Rummen, Heerende Lant-
sambacht, Severnich, Prætorem Kennemariæ, Jo-
hannem de Witte, Consiliarium & Syndicum Hol-
landiæ Westfrisiæque, Marinum de Stavenisse, Con-
siliarium & Syndicum Civitatis Zirczeensis, Gyf-
bertum vander Hoolche, Ex-consulem, & Senato-
rem Civitatis Ultrajectensis, Fredericum a Grovestins
in Englum, Dominum in Jepma cum annexis ad
Nykerck & Wernerum Crans, Consulem Civitatis
Swollenfis; Johannem Schulenburg, Senatorem Ci-
vitat

A.D. 1659 vitatis Groeningensis, omnes Deputatos Ordinarios in Confessu D. D. Ordinum Generalium unitarum Belgii Provinciarum, Nomine Gelriæ, Hollandiæ Westfrisiæque, Zelandiæ, Ultrajecti, Frisiæ, Transsalaniæ, atque Groningæ, & Commissarios in hac parte cum facultate & auctoritate Deputatos, seria deliberatione instituta, in comprehensa sequentibus articulis pacta conventa consenserunt, quibus bellum istud tam latè noxium, quodque tam gravia momenta secum trahit, quam primum compositum & extinctum felici pace finiatur.

I.

Uti Anglia, Gallia, & Unitæ Belgii Provinciæ per Legatos & Ministros suos, qui tunc apud Sueciæ & Daniæ Reges missi aderunt, conjunctim vel separatim, prout magis expedire videbitur, communicatis tamen omnino consiliis, id omni ope agunt, ut inter eosdem Reges fida firmaque pax constituatur, idque super fundamento ac basi prædicti foederis initi Roeschildiæ ad diem ^{26 Feb.} _{8 Mart.} 1658.

II.

Ut interim ad omnem declinandam invidiam & suspiciones quæ suboriri possent ex tertio prædicti foederis articulo, quo Classes exteriæ ac hostiles freti Oresundici transitu prohibentur, prædictus articulus aut recitatur & expungatur omnino, aut in ejusmodi verba concipiatur & explanetur, juxta quæ nec tribus statibus prædictis nec eorum ulli super libero Navium suarum bellicarum per Oresundicum vel utrumvis Balthicum fretum transitu aliquod damnum aut impedimentum inferri possit: Quod si prædictorum Regum alteruter institerit, ut in prædicto tractatu Roeschildensi aliquid præterea vel immutetur, vel ei addatur propter bellum renovatum cum prædictus

dictus tractatus subfignatione confirmatus ac ipsa executione pro parte ad impletus jam esset, uti Ministri trium statuum præmemoratorum conjunctim vel separatim ut prædictum est, omni ope connitantur ut omnes controversias inter prædictos Reges componant eosque ad mutuam amicitiam, quantum fieri poterit, reducant.

III.

Ut Classis, quam Serenissimus Angliæ Protector tanquam utrique Regum amicus, versus fretum Oresundicum misit, neutri Classi eorundem Regum se adjungat, nec alterutri ullum præstet auxilium nec adversus alterutrum sese hostiliter gerat per trium hebdomadum spacium proxime insequentium diem, quo pactum conventum hocce Thalassiarchæ Anglico, vel cuivis alteri prædictæ Classi summâ cum potestate præfecto innotuerit atque ut ea propter hujus pacti conventi authenticum exemplar per varias vias terra marique quam celerrime ad eum transmittatur: & contra ut Classis, quam unitæ Belgii Provinciæ parant in illas oras nullum, ab hoc die usque ad trium hebdomadum prædictarum exitum, alterutri Regum præstet auxilium, nec adversus alterutrum sese hostiliter gerat similiterque neutri Regiarum Classium sese adjungat, ac ne illi quidem Classi quæ jam missa est auxilio Regi Daniæ ductore D^o de Wassenaer, prædicti Uniti Belgii Vice Thalassiarcha; utque Classis quæ sub ductu prædicti Dⁿⁱ de Wassenaer, auxilio Regi Daniæ jam pridem missa est per prædictarum trium hebdomadum spacium, nullas omnino copias quacumque de causa vel quocumque sub prætextu trajiciat, aut trajectum earum promoveat in insulas aliave loca Daniæ, in detrimentum Regis Sueciæ, neve quid hostile terra aut mari moliatur contra Regis Sueciæ copias, nec eas oppugnet: Utque prædicta Belgii Classis illuc mit-

A.D. 1659 tenda ab hac die ad trium hebdomadum prædictarum exitum nec appellat nec appellere tentet Hafni-
am, sed nec in Mare Balthicum per Oresundicum
vel utrumvis Balthicum fretum progrediatur, utque
prædictorum trium statuum Legati & Ministri, qui
tunc in illis locis aderunt id operam dent idque dili-
genter curent vel conjunctim vel separatim, commu-
nicatis tamen consiliis, per spacium trium hebdo-
madum jam dictarum, ut firma fidaque pax inter
prædictos Reges stabiliatur.

IV.

Si vero interea temporis præter omnem spem &
expectationem operâ atque industria ministrorum
prædictorum trium statuum omni curâ omnique di-
ligentiâ adhibitâ, inter prædictos Reges pax instaurari
ac res amicâ viâ componi nequeant prædicti tres
status & eorum singuli omnem omnino opem atque
omne auxilium ferre desistent illi, qui justis, æquis-
que conditionibus pacem facere recusaverint, idque
eo usque, quo in eodem recusandæ pacis proposito
perstiterit; si vero inopinato quodam infortunio,
(quod avertat Deus) prædicti tres status inter se
dissideant super justitiâ aut æquitate eorum que vel
hic vel ille prædictorum Regum postulaverit, atque
exinde ad auxilia contrariis partibus suppeditanda
obstrictos sese fenserint, ea tamen auxilia prædicto
modo contrariis partibus lata nullatenus pro viola-
tione pacis inter prædictos tres status aut eorum ali-
quos haberi aut æstimari poterunt, verum pax inter
eosdem nihilominus inconcussa manebit, pti & fœ-
dera inter ipsos sancita vim roburque suum obtine-
bunt nihilo secius, ac si prædicta auxilia lata plane
non fuissent.

V.

Ac si, quod optandum omnino est, prædictorum trium statuum curæ & sollicitudines eum, favente Deo, sortiantur exitum, ut pax inter prædictos Reges instauretur, prædicti tres status informa omnium optimâ, amplissima, securissimaque sese invicem, ac reciproca obligatione ad id obstringent, ut sponsores, fidei iussores, vindicesque sint eorum omnium, quæ inter eosdem Reges, vi horum conventorum pacta sancitaque fuerint, ea ut rite observentur & sedulo; ac penitus per omnes numeros impleantur.

VI.

Ne ullum novum vectigal, portorium, neve ullum aliud onus aut tributum in Oresundico aut utrovis Balthico freto, per ullam omnino potestatem tribus statibus aut eorum alicui eorumve subditis, vel ignium nocturnorum pharorum anchoralium, vel quacumque alia de causâ aut quocumque prætextu imperari, aut ab iis exigi possit. Quod autem attinet ad vectigalia vel portoria quæ ibidem solvuntur juxta foedus initum Londini inter jam vitâ functum Serenissimum Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Protectorem, & Regnum Daniæ, necnon juxta foedus inter prædictum Daniæ Regnum & Unitas Belgii Provincias Christianopoli sancitum ad diem 11 Augustii Anni 1645, ea ne ullo tempore quacumque de causâ, aut quocumque prætextu ex tribus illis statibus aut eorum aliquo, eorumve subditis graviora, vel ullatenus ampliora exigi possint: quod si forte unius quam alterius ex jam commemoratis foederibus conditiones commodiores potioresque reperiuntur, siue quo ad taxationem, siue in ratione ac modo exigendi, siue in aliis quibuscumque circumstantiis, ut prædicti tres status, & quilibet ex iis eorumque

A.D. 1659 subditis æqualiter & nullo inter ipsos discrimine prædictis conditionibus quæ potiores commodioresque repertæ fuerint, utantur, fruantur : Atque ut tres prædicti status sese actu reciproco, invicem & ultro citroque, sponsores, fidei iustores ac vindices rite constituent ac præstent eorum omnium quæ jam in hoc articulo expressa sunt ea uti accurate observentur & undecumque fideliter ac penitus impleantur : Ac quo prædicti tres status amicitiae fiduciaeque mutuae uberius specimen edant, reciproca obligatione se hisce obstringunt, ut eorum nomine laboretur, uti populus subditique sui in illis oris gaudeant iisdem conditionibus & commodis in solutione omnis generis vectigalium portorum, aut onerum quorumcumque, omniumque aliorum privilegiorum fruitione : Quo quidem obtento prædicti tres status eorum quoque similiter se ultro citroque sponsores fidei iustores ac vindices constituent.

VII.

Uti Anglia & Gallia id agant, & omni ope efficiant ut omnes simultates quæ inter Regem Sueciæ & Unitum Belgium obortæ sunt, tollantur & extinguantur, atque adeo ut Fœdus Elbingæ factum ad diem xxi Septembr. Anni 1656, cum suis elucidationibus quemadmodum in eas Thorunii prædicti Regis delegati consenserunt ratum fiat, & penitus perfecteque adimpleatur, ut que Elector Brandenburgicus, & Urbs Gedanensis commodis ac beneficio inclusionis in Fœdere Elbingensi supra memorato gaudeant ac fruantur ab illo die, quo prædictam inclusionem acceptaverunt : Quam tamen acceptationem, ut ejus fructum percipere possint, significare tenebuntur intra spacium Mensis proxime insequentis diem, quo id ipsis in legitimâ & debitâ formâ notificatum communicatumque fuerit.

VIII. Quod

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1659

VIII.

Quod vero ad Poloniæ Bellum pertinet, uti tres prædicti status omni ope connitantur, ut quamprimum certa pax inter utrumque Regem stabiliatur. Quod autem spectat ad Electorem Brandenburgicum præter id quod in præcedenti articulo de eo memoratum est, si quid præterea diffidii vel controversiæ superfit ut ad illud amica via componendum & finendum tres prædicti status omnem industriam diligentiamque conferant, quo inter Sueciæ Regem & supra memoratum Electorem Brandenburgicum sincera concordia & amicitia restituatur; atque hunc in finem jam dictus Elector invitabitur admittendum in ipsa loca. Primo quoque tempore Ministros suos qui cum Legatis & Ministris trium prædictorum statuum de rebus ad ipsum pertinentibus rationes & consilia communicent, hæc tamen lege atque cautione, ut per hæc negotiationes nulla optatæ paci & consiliationi inter prædictos Sueciæ Daniæque Reges mora aut impedimentum afferatur.

IX.

Ut hæc pacta conventa rite ac solemniter approbentur a tribus statibus, atque in optima legitimaque forma rata fiunt, & ratihabitionis instrumenta, intra spacium trium hebdomadum proxime insequentium diem subscriptionis hujus instrumenti commutentur, & ultro citroque extrudantur, nec interim propterea horum conventorum executio differatur aut intermittatur. Actum Hagæ Comitum in Hollandia ad diem vigesimum primum Mensis Maii Anno millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo nono.

G. DOWNING.

N 3

Later

*Later Agreement for more speedy Dispatch of
Affairs in the Sound.*

A.D. 1659

QUO pax inter Sueciæ Daniæque Reges instauranda promptius optatum sortiatur eventum, idque ex regula ac præscripto eorum, de quibus Maii Mensis nuper elapsi die vigesimo primo, vigesimoque quarto Julii proxime sequentis convenit, consultum insuper visum ac consensus est, si præter spem ac expectationem fortassis acciderit, ut primus ex quindecim diebus, quorum in conventis die vigesimo quarto Julii Mensis jam dicti chartæ consignatis mentio est facta, nondum sit exortus, cum ad oratores hoc conventum perferetur, tum dictis 15 diebus initium ut statuatur intra spacium horarum viginti quatuor ab exhibito oratoribus præsentibus hæc convento.

Si vero paci inter duos jam dictos Reges ineunda suprema manus imposita non fuerint ante exitum horum 15 dierum, tunc trium statum, Angliæ saltem ac Fœderati Belgii oratores pacis detrectatorem vel detrectatores illico illum illosve denunciare tenebuntur, si Regum alteruter vel uterque omnes & singulas conditiones & clausulas, quarum in pactis conventis ad diem 24 Julii proxime scripto mandatis fit mentio, non admiserit, quive horum duorum Regum pacem, quam lex & formula earundem conditionum præscribit, non amplectetur, vel amplectentur. Præterea Classes navesque Anglorum, tum etiam Fœderatorum Belgarum Classes, Naves, ac Milites sine mora & procrastinatione id agent efficientque, ut pacem tantoperè desideratam detrectaturus vel detrectaturi reipsâ compellatur, aut compellantur ad eandem admittendam sub conditionibus, quæ die 24 Julii proxime elapsi scripto consignatæ sunt: Idque eo prorsus modo, quem paci instaurandæ,

randæ, incumbentium trium statuum, Angliæ sal- AD 1659
tem ac Fœderati Belgii oratores expeditissimum ma-
ximæque tutum ac efficacem forē judicabunt. Ad
quam illi metam studiis non intermissis tenebuntur
aspirare, nullâ omnino factâ temporis jacturâ nec
ulla de novo super hâc re mandata aut expectaturi
aut exacturi: Nec detrimenta aut infortunia, qua ex
bello hoc funestissimo diutius protracto, haud dubiè
longè maxima sunt redundatura, statibus jam dictis
eorumve oratoribus ad pacem instaurandam delegatis
imputari queant, si pax ipsa ante æstatem elapsam
non adfulgeat.

Denique oratores jam dicti inter se deliberabunt
an consultum & ex re communi sit, ut pars quota-
cumque Classium, Navium vel Militiæ tam Angliæ
quam Fœderati Belgii domum mox revertatur, re-
lictò illic eo numero, qui par sit conventis die 24
Julii proximi chartæ traditis ad optatum finem pro-
movendis, Fidemque oratores, ex quo hujus con-
venti certiores fient non dissensus solummodo ac
cuncta infortunia quæ offerri possent prævenient pro
virili atque amovebunt; verum etiam conjunctis
operis atque consiliis communicatis in id sincere fide-
literque incumbunt, ut tenor hujus Conventi perstet
illibatus, utque genuina ejus sententia ac vera mens
farta tecta conservetur. Actum Hagæ Comitum ad
diem 4^m Mensis Augⁱ. Anno 1659.

G. DOWNING.

The English Commissioners to the K. of Sweden.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex,

INcertam valetudinem, quâ etiamnum utitur vestra
Maj^{tas} non sine dolore accepimus, sensuque eo
graviores, quo majorem spem Maj^{tas} V^{ras} de Officiis
studioque nostro certiores faciendi animo præcepe-
ramus,

A.D. 1659 ramus, quin & coram exponendi, quo in loco sunt rationes illæ Maj^{ti} V^{ra} cum Republica communes. Muneri autem nostro ne quâ deessemus, Maj^m V^{ra} rursus orandam duximus, ut renunciatur nobis, utrum (quo commodius Pax instauretur). Fœderis Roschildiani conditiones dignetur accipere, sive non videatur, quæ nam illa sint quæ malet adjici, minui aut mutari, Chartam siquidem eo spectantem à Rege Daniæ dudum impetravimus, quasi unicam rationem, qua inter Maj^m V^{ra} orta dissidia brevi, quindecim dierum spacio componantur (id quod non ita pridem Maj^{ti} V^{ra} Commissariis fufius explicuimus :) in tantillum temporis Classis Nostræ rationes Nos compulerunt, quæ nequaquam poterit diutius isthic commorari. Quod si interea temporis seu opera mediatoria, seu Naves Nostræ M^{ti} V^{ra} ex usu esse possint, Nos exhibebimus

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex

Majestati Vestræ

Addictissimos atque ejusdem
obsequentissimos

Friderici Biergi,
17^o Aug. 1659.

ROBERT HONEYWOOD.
AL. SIDNEY.

Sir Robert Honeywood to General Montague,

My Lord,

HAVING the last night received by Mr. *Upton* a letter directed to Mr. *Boone* and myself, wherein your Lordship is pleased to acknowledge to us something particular; in point of civility to you I find myself obliged to assure your Lordship, that I should think myself worthy of much reproach,

if I should be guilty of any thought to the contrary; I must confess it hath not a little troubled me for the ruptures have been amongst ourselves, sent to be mediators of peace; upon that consideration I have taken a liberty to speak a little with our noble colleague in order to all the differences amongst us, which methinks begins to take some effect here, and as to what relates to your Lordship; though it be not easy to remove him, yet I am confident you will find nothing otherwise related, than in justification of his own judgment, and that with much tenderness, if he say any thing at all; which were much best he should not, and I have declared to him to be my opinion. We had a mutiny yesterday betwixt the Commissioners; those of Swede desiring a removal to a more convenient place, and that the two Kings might treat by their own Ministers, and without the Mediators. The *Danes* delivered them a paper first to be proceeded on, both meant, as we think, this morning to reform each other's answers, though there be little difficulty in either. I see no cause yet to recede from what I have thought a good while, that the King of *Swede* desires not peace, the *Danes* will this day pass and adhere to the agreements at the *Hague*, and be vigorously seconded by the Dutch, whose fleet, I mean that under *de Ruiter*, is coming up. The King it seems prepares for them and did Sunday last at *Malnengan* proclaim a prohibition for any the inhabitants of *Schonen* to hold any correspondence with the Dutch by letters or otherwise. I am sorry your Lordship hath as yet the wind so contrary. I shall wish it may quickly be prosperous for you, and that you may find all quiet, whereof we have had some kind of assurance by Mr. *Downing's* letters received Tuesday last, which tell us the taking or seizing of *Chester* by Sir *George Bootbe* was not true; that it was true, that he had been
in

A.D. 1659 in arms, but being able to make nothing of it, had
 pulled in his horns. I am,

My Lord, &c.

Copenhagen, Aug. 25, 1659.

R. HONYWOOD,

The Queen Mother to the King.

VOUS cognoissez assez ma main pour vous écrire sans commencement ny fin. Encore que vous ne me montriez guere de confiance, je ne laisse pas de tacher a vous servir en tout ce que je puis. Je vous envoie Thom. Cooke pour vous faire cognoistre, qu'en cas que vous ne trouviez l'occasion de passer promptement en Angleterre, vous ne pouvez rien faire qui me paroisse aller plus au bien de vos affaires que de vous aboucher avec M. de Turenne, lequel j'ay veu aujourd'hui et qui en est content et souhaite autant, que personne peut faire, de vous rendre quelque service. Sy vous le trouvez a propos il fault que ce soit avec le dernier secret; car c'est de son chef sans aucun ordre qu'il souhaite cecy, et s'en va à Amiens expres pour vous en donner la commodité. Vous prendrez Amiens ou menstreuil ou Abbeville, comme vous trouverez meilleur, et luy renvoyerez ce porteur pour luy en donner l'advis et le rendezvous a Amiens ou il fera qui attendra de vos nouvelles jusqu' a Lundy. Sy vous vous rencontrez, il pourra vous proposer quelque autre voyage dont vous pouvez croire que je ne feray pas fâchée. Tout cecy est du dernier secret; et je vous assure le seul but que j'ay en tout cecy n'est que vostre service sans aucun autre.

Paris, ce Août. 27, 1659.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Hyde.

Several letters this last post bring news of many great successes to the party in arms; of which there being no kind of mention in the prints, I am afraid to give absolute belief unto it; yet it's evident the printer is industrious to lessen all attempts of rising, and to magnify very inconsiderable successes against it.

A letter from *Calais* assures Lord *Jermyn*, that an express was passed by there to the King. If it came to him before he left the place I left him in on Wednesday night last, I shall be sure to hear what he brought this day, and what resolutions that inclines the King to take. I had a conference of two hours yesterday with Lord *Jermyn*. The subject was upon two points; the one, the creating of a better understanding and a necessary mutual confidence between the King and the Queen of *England* his Mother. The terms proposed were general, and so you may be sure reasonable. My answer was, as it must be, as general, and assured as great a disposition on the part I spoke in. When that was left in the state it could admit, we fell upon the other point, which was, what was counselable for the King to do as to his transportation upon the accounts we now have; wherein he spoke as reasonably as was to be expected from one of his parts. He concluded that in a conjuncture so favourable at home and abroad, so irrecoverable a loss as that of the King's person was not to be hazarded, unless his presence should appear highly necessary and should be desired; nor then, unless a secure reception should be proposed. We differed not much in this; and so our discourse ended.

Since I came hither, I consulted with some know-

A.D. 1659 ing in the affair, and find it will be difficult to get any ships or other vessels on this coast; and that hath made me send an expresse by post to *St. Sebastian's* to *Henry Bennet* to procure from thence, at the expence of *Spain*, ships, or get frigates to come to *Brest*, and there to receive orders from such as shall be there found, and to come furnished with what will be of use. I conceive in all events the commodity is worth the hazard of the expence of sending. This is the more necessary, by how much my hope of the ship spoken of by my Lord *Fermyn* declines. One of the difficulties now is to procure security to the person to be reimbursed the consumption of what he hath provided: but to remove that, I have partly undertaken that *Scot of Rouen* will be bound, as I think upon such an occasion he will; the sum being after our computation for a month but 600 pistoles. The security of this way, if it take, is beyond all we could hope for; and it will be necessary, that you give our surety all the encouragement you can to become bound for us upon such occasions by assurance from yourself, and any you believe he will take to be better caution, that he shall sustain no damage.

It is infinite distraction to us, that all the light we get is from prints and unknown hands, and that we are fain to guess at the truth by compounding betwixt them; so what comes to you, you will send hither and to *Calais*. It will not be long before *Lockhart* will have us in the wind, and what may follow upon the instances he will make may be apprehended; yet that must be endured, rather than the business quit on the one hand, or precipitated on the other.

Paris, Aug. 30, 1659.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1659


The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Hyde.

BY my Lord of *Bristol* you receive the reason of my journey hither, and now you shall know my proceeding towards waiting on the Queen and my reception last night. In my way from *Rouen*, I saw Mr. *Montague* at his very fine Abbey, (I would my Secretary had such another) where I gave him a letter I had for him from the King: which was chiefly a Credential, though it pointed at the matter. When I had represented as well as I could, how opportunely this Crown might now oblige the King with a very moderate assistance, and acquit itself at an easy rate of those hopes that had been given us upon such a conjuncture as this is, he first made deep protestations of his zeal to the King, and of his readiness to obey him when he should lay upon him his positive commands for the making of any trial he should think fit. But when he was pleased to command his advice and opinion, or to admit of it, as in this case he conceived he did, he would with faithfulness give it him. His opinion was, that as he understood the state of our business in *England*, it was like to be determined by force or composition before this could be solicited, considering the distance it is at from hence: but he believed that if our friends could stand on their own legs, till it might appear to the Cardinal that he could turn the balance and have the principal honour of doing it, he then believed he would frankly engage *France* in it. But to make this appear to him, his own reason, which is very nice, must be satisfied in almost the infallibility of the success; and in the mean time, he doubted not but the Cardinal would by any arts keep fair with the commonwealth, and with *Lockhart* their very industrious

A.D. 1659ous Minister, of whom he has a high esteemi.

When I came to *Paris*, being brought to the Queen by Lord *Fermyn*, and had presented her with my letter of credence, I said upon it what was fit from the King, and of his hopes, that now the helps promised here would be thought seasonable. She heard me out at length, and then having made suitable returns to the ceremonial part, she told me, that if the King had thought fit to have trusted her in time, she had reason to believe he had now been in *England*: but that not having that part in his trust, she durst not venture in the dark to meddle with his business, lest so she might disserve him; yet she said her zeal for his good was such, that she had without his order attempted something which she hoped would be of great advantage to him. What that is, I have not clearly been told; but perhaps before the post goes I shall see more into it. In short I find those here much more hoping some present help from hence than Mr. *Montague* is: but I forbear to judge which has most reason, because a little time will do it with more certainty. I am for my particular, exceeding civilly used, and had much add to defend myself from being in this woful equipage lodged in the *Palais-Royal*: and my Lord *Fermyn* seemed much unsatisfied with the Queen's saying any thing like a reproach, or the ripping up of old unkindnesses. One thing he puts me in hope of, which if it holds, (as I doubt it will not) is alone worth a longer journey, and that is, that he can help us with a French ship of 36 guns to carry us whither we will: but you know how flat such projects grow in that climate in a little time.

Of *England*, I yet know no more than the Council of State gives their Printer leave to tell us. Of the letters this day, some judgment may be made: and I shall guess which way the King will bend

bend his course, and with what haste. I hope A.D. 1659
mine host of the Garter gives his friends in the 
Sound at least a true relation of things where he is,
that our business there be not damp'd by misrepresentations: and methinks you should by this time have heard from the Knight.

Paris, Aug. 31, 1659.

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

THIS day has given us the confirmation of the news of *England*, which is not only worse than we looked for, but even as ill as we could have imagined. This reduces us to that we had in consideration, which in mine of yesterday I observed already to you might happen. Therefore the present considerations are now to be applied to this new scene. The first thing that occurs to me is, that with as little noise as may be, there may be a silent and quiet retreat made to *Brussels* by as many as have removed. The Duke of *York* hath desired to come and see the Queen, which she instead of having thought necessary, commands me to attend him to let him know, that the best thing he can do is to return hastily to *Brussels*, and stay there for the resolutions which shall be taken here for the future conduct of our matter. For that which concerns the King, we expect to hear from you to know what this new change will suggest you; assuring that this breeds none at all in whatsoever hath been said to you; but that the same sentiments, the same thoughts, all things generally are the same that have been expressed to you. This I writ hastily to you upon the first moment I receive the ill news: every day you shall hear from me; let me hear so from you, and I make no doubt but

A.D. 1659 but if you keep that method, we shall concert things for the best and for your satisfaction. So in haste, I wish you all happiness.

Paris, Sept. 9, 1659.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Edward Hyde.

I HAVE staid here till this day, not without hope of doing some good upon the particulars I writ to you last, and being so near the time of the arrival of the posts from *England* and *Flanders*, I was willing to carry with me, what they should bring. Neither are yet come: before I go, which will be this afternoon, I hope they will. Last night *Tom Cooke* arrived here, having missed the King; but met with the Duke of *York*, who hath prevailed with *M. de Turenne* for means to pass them. Of this notice is sent after the King: which if it reach and find him will, I should think, bring him back that way; so that I expect to meet or hear of him at *Rouen*. How this is practicable, or if it be, what effect it will have, is more than can be well judged, till we see the letters of this day. I shall only observe to you, that *Titus* was on the place and delighted with the speculation. The Queen apprehends the attempt without success may destroy more solid expectations: and I left her last night resolved to approve or stop it, as the news of this day should direct. If I have time and occasion to say any thing to you, after I have seen the letters, you shall find it in the end of this letter.

Paris, Sept. 2, 1659.

Lord

Lord Crofts to the King, sent by the M. of Ormonde.

YOU will receive by this bearer a just account of ^{A.D. 1659} all, but his own behaviour; which hath been so prudent, as the Queen remains entirely satisfied with your affection, and fully resolved to persist in all the fair correspondence you can desire, and with great zeal to render all the good offices to your interests, that her credit or interest can extend unto. I shall need say nothing of my duty, which doth not only belong to you by many other titles, but is also assured to you by your excessive grace and goodness in confiding in it.

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

I HAVE received yours of the 4th, and have had an express since from the Duke of York, but am no wiser in the particulars that concern his intentions, than I was when I saw you. For though he tells me positively, that he expects to embark this day, yet he tells me neither where, with what company, whether alone or with any, if any, whether horse or foot, or whether he have any set place to land in, or any ready to meet him, or whether both these points be committed absolutely to fortune. I have returned his express to him with the reiteration of the same cautions *Tom Cooke* carried, and as many others as could occur to me; which was all that particular could admit. As I hear more, you shall be advertised.

The person you stayed for is in my judgment fit now for your company in every event, and therefore shall be directed, as you appoint. I have

A.D. 1659 had letters from the Court, that the conference is past, and with mutual satisfaction. The *Mareschal de Gramont* goes post to demand the Infanta. The King of *Spain*, as is now believed, will come to *Fontarabia*, and Don *Louis* conducts the Infanta to the frontier. The Cardinal is expected at *Bordeaux* the 15th. I have some particular letters that speak frankly of his good intentions for the King: but have no answer from himself of the last proposition for the connivance. I like your purpose of following, and have nothing to add to what was said at parting. God send us good news, and keep all your company.

I have a letter from *Harry Bennet*, wherein he tells me, that after the Cardinal's refusing to see him upon the pretext, that he had not demanded audience, the Cardinal sent the Captain of his Guards to find him out to tell him, that he ought not to be troubled at what had past; for he should perceive, that what he did was best for his (*Bennet's*) master's service.

Lord Mordaunt to the King.

S I R,

REceiving every two days, the week before the last rising, expresses from Sir *George Booth*, they confirmed me, of the great interest he had in those parts; upon which I not only encouraged him to rise, but all others I durst trust, upon the account of the considerableness of his preparations, and I found no reason at all to distrust the failings of any particular person; they being all, in my opinion, of firm principles and unquestioned integrity; and till the Thursday before the first of *August*, I could discern nothing, that spoke discontent, or dissatisfaction from any. For though 414 had refused to see me

me upon your Majesty's letter, yet he gave such assurances of re-engaging those he had dissuaded, that I had great confidence, if he assisted not, he would not endeavour to prevent an engagement had proceeded too far possibly to be laid aside without the imminent ruin of many considerable men; from

Lord Br u ce.

my 597. 942. 12. 908 I had all could be expected of promise to be just to the day, by whose advice he was taken off I cannot absolutely say; but

Lord North-

that his not appearing discouraged my 597. 531.

am p t on

725. 00. 94. 518 is most certain; and what an effect an express sent from him had on Sir George Booth, your Majesty will conclude when you hear Col. Whitley's relation, which I have often persuaded him to repeat to me, that your Majesty may be fully and truly informed of that transaction by a person who acted his part in it.

On the Sunday before the engagement, some advices which came to Sir George Booth changed his humour so visibly, that from a chearful temper he was observed to be pensive and sad; and so as if he were indifferent whether to rise publicly next morning or no; but several persons of quality assuring him of their ruin in case he desisted, he frankly determined on the attempt, and from that time carried himself very worthily in it. I am told those prudential advices were 289 his, though sent to him by another hand; for without any reason given to me or any of the council, why they would not

Lord Br u ce

rise, my 597. 942. 12. 908 and 414. both failed. Having laid his correspondency with Mr. Ireland, Mr. Holland and Mr. Brookes, he raised the country, and so considerably, that Chester invited him, and all the considerable towns near furnished willingly

A.D. 1659 large proportions both of horse and foot; all the Gentry in those parts unanimously joined with him, and he had invitations from most of his neighbour countries, and promises to rise if he would march towards them. His first march was towards *Chester*, which he made himself master of; the castle only excepted, into which the Governor had put 200 foot and 50 horse. The not attacking that, or at least not securing it so, as no intelligence could be given to or received from it, was in my opinion one of the greatest failings of the General Officers; for Sir, to the castle wall is joined a house inhabited, so that from thence intelligence was daily sent into *Wales*, and as daily received; and it is believed though the Governor refused to surrender upon the first summons, he would have easily been persuaded to it, had he not known how ill all other risings succeeded, nor how suddenly *Lambert* was sent against Sir *George Booth*; and this place being the only magazine of those parts, the neglecting it was sure a great omission, being their only want was arms and ammunition. For had they been furnished with those, they wanted not bodies of men to have fought three such armies. Most of the Gentry actually engaged; they spent the first ten days in sending out good parties of horse to countenance the well-inclined, and to strengthen themselves in numbers. Sir *Tho. Middleton* appeared then so considerably and so frankly on your Majesty's score, that the Ministers checked at it, fearing lest by his persuasion the war might have been owned, in order only to your restoration. I believe this caused some debates, because he was permitted to visit *Wales* no more; but always accompanied Sir *George Booth*: some 13 days had passed before those worthy people could believe, the rest of the nation had so unworthily deserted them; their hopes appearing certainties, and the assurance of their success as near as they found their

their destruction. By this time *Lambert* drew near ^{A.D. 1659} their neighbouring country, and no good news to encourage them from *London*, their hopes declined, and strange apprehensions encreased so fast, that I cannot hear they proposed any one thing reasonable, either to defend themselves or offend the enemy. The reason of this may be, the confusion of their councils which could hardly be prevented, so many being admitted to them: but had *Chester* been more tenable, which few days would have done (as we account towns in *England*) considering most of the old line being in repair, I am confident *Lambert* had been extremely puzzled with 3500 men, which was the outside of his army: he never would have ventured a battle, and had this been determined, we had gained so much time, that your Majesty and the Duke of *York* had landed, and the work had at this time not to have been done. By this your Majesty will find the want of some prudent considerable man amongst them whose authority they all would have submitted to; and though I find none but willingly obeyed Sir *George Booth*; yet I am not satisfied but that they thought so considerable an appearance might have deserved, though not your Majesty or the Duke of *York*, yet at least some very eminent person. Hearing of our failings every where, they made a virtue of necessity, and grew brave out of despair; Tuesday they resolved to quit *Chester*, and to march and fight *Lambert*. Here again they were drawn to a sad dilemma, to divide their forces, or to lose so considerable a retreat as *Chester*. They divide and leave 700 of their best foot in the town, and march towards *Nantwich*; but want of intelligence ruined them; and though they knew how strong *Lambert* was, they never knew what marches he made, nor where he quartered. This appears by their neglect in gathering their troops together, for there was 500 *Lancashire* foot

A.D. 1659 foot within a day's march, and 600 more near *War-
rington*, and my Lord of *Derby* not yet joined with
them. Wednesday they reach'd *Namptwich*, and
the first alarm they had was by a Lieutenant-Colo-
nel, who bringing up the rear saw some troops he
mistrusted; he rode to them, and finding them the
enemy, he fired his pistol and galloped back to ac-
quaint the General Officers with it; this Gentleman
having formerly been a good fellow, his intelligence
was not credited: and here the mistrust of a truth,
proved more prejudicial than if they had believed
a lie. This was Thursday in the evening, and that
night they had again the alarm, but no more cre-
dited than the former. Thus that night past, some
ever secure, others too apprehensive, and some
hours in the morning, before it was generally be-
lieved the enemy was so very near them; yet in or-
der to their own security they had commanded three
troops of horse to defend a pass upon the river, and
had sent some 160 foot to another bridge a mile
off, where they apprehended the enemy might en-
deavour to force his way. The alarm coming hot,
Col. *Whitley* with some friends of his galloped on
to satisfy themselves whether it were a true one or
not: he no sooner came to the farthest bridge, but
he was assured the enemy was very near; present-
ly he descried their scouts, and sending out some
horse to them, they retired and he passed the
bridge to the top of a hill, from whence he saw the
army upon a round march, close by them. With
the certainty of this intelligence he hastened to the
town; and then order was given to draw out their
foot, which they did in the nearest closes to the
town, and after this their horse. But before this
could be done, the enemy had forced the farthest
bridge, and was hastening to engage them. The con-
fusion now grew high, and the place where they
were drawn up was not judged so much to their ad-
vantage,

vantage, as a ground about a mile off near the other bridge; which had a hill on the right hand and many small inclosures about it. Here they draw up; but by mistake on the Wednesday night most of their powder and ball was carried back to *Chester*, which though sent after could not be brought back so soon as they had use of it. To this, the remainder of their ammunition was left in *Northwich*, and they in a great trouble how to get it to them; these were sad misfortunes; but there was no remedy. *Randal Egerton* commanded the horse, Col. *Broughton* the foot, many of whom had no match, others no ball, in short, Sir, it was never fought, for the foot saved themselves in the inclosures, the horse trotted away, which is the civilest term.

My Lord *Derby* and Sir *Tbo. Middleton* behaved themselves modestly in this business, waving all things to Sir *George Booth*, and he to please the Gentry admitted all desired to assist at counsels, as equally engaged in life and fortune. One particular I omitted, which was a letter sent to *Lambert* upon the instigation of the Clergy. This produced a contrary effect to what they proposed, which was gaining of time; for *Lambert* concluded they sought him more out of fear than brotherly love, and immediately after he had answered it, marched to meet them. The Scout-master General, one *Peverly*, on the Thursday went over to *Lambert*, and it is thought with reason made such discoveries, as hastened their ruin.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Morgan* was the only considerable person killed: the prisoners your Majesty knows by the prints.

I have now, Sir, performed a most displeasing task, which nothing but my duty and your Majesty's satisfaction could have obliged me to: yet there remains this comfort to me, your Majesty will make useful reflections on it, and such as will prevail with your

A.D. 1659 Majesty for the future to see your orders and commands more strictly obeyed, for he that disputes in these cases checks the power and not the persons 'tis derived to. So all these afflictions are but trials from God's hand, and bearing them with that resignation and submission you do, it cannot be doubted he will in his good time take his rod from you, and give you your scepter: which that it may long continue in your Majesty's hands, is the prayer of, Sir,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient

Subject and Servant,

Mo R DA U NT,
585. 42. 856. 12. 546.

Sir, I desired Mr. Secretary to acquaint your Ma-

jefty of some wishes of a friend of *Lam.* 621.

be r t s y his

947. 42. 94. 90. concerning 279. and 700.

da u g h ter

856. 12. 1. 64. 367, but the last 605. 99.

speaks nothing more of it, by which I conclude the advertisement I give your Majesty of the alliance betwixt him and *Vane* will prove true.

A sudden indisposition forces me to make use of a friend's hand to your Majesty, which if your Majesty please to pardon, I am sure no prejudice can arise to your Majesty's affairs by it.

Dr.

Dr. Barwick to the King.

S I R,

HAVING this opportunity to repeat what I writ A.D. 1659
by the way of *Brussels* by the last post, I have lately been in *Northamptonshire*, where things are at a stand for want of my Lord *Northampton*, and would not be much better if he were there; for he hath much lost himself in the hearts of the people; how justly I cannot say. If he had done any thing, I find it must have been chiefly upon the interest of his neighbour Mr. *Henry Yelverton*, who is the darling of the Clergy for his late father's sake, rather than his own, though he still carries towards them: and I have got so much into him already, that he will receive any directions from me for the advancing your Majesty's service in that county, where I find still much good may be done. If any other way be on foot, I have no more to say; if not, (as I cannot perceive here there is) I shall proceed on in it according to your Majesty's order and command. He says, that in case your Majesty can land any considerable forces upon the coast of *Norfolk*, or thereabouts, so as to be a shelter to retreat unto, he hopes in 20 days to raise 500 horse, and have the town of *Northampton*. Such as it is, if your M. likes the proposal, I humbly submit it to consideration, whether a letter from your M. might not be thought convenient to encourage and fix him only in generals; referring the particulars to be supplied by me upon occasion. He may easily be brought into conjunction with the persons of the neighbouring counties, upon whom the business chiefly depends. My Lord of *Manchester* is his ally; my Lord *Bruce* his intimate friend; and he can bring them to peace with him. I see the other negotiation

A.D. 1659 negotiation with *Monck* concurs with that account
 I have formerly given your Majesty from my friend.
 I have not heard from him of late, but I expect him
 here shortly, and shall omit no opportunity in that
 or any other thing to manifest myself, Sir,

London, Sept. 12,
 1659.

Your most faithful Servant

225.

The same to the same. Sent by way of Brussels.

S I R,

WITHOUT all doubt Lord *Montague* intended really your service, when he set sail from the Sound, having heard of the party up in *Cheeshire*. His return was opposed and protested against by the Plenipotentiaries, and the contest grew so hot, as *Sidney* told him, he knew his errand, and that your M. was in his heart. Yet having but five weeks provision left, and having got a council of war on his side, he came away with intention to block up the *Thames* with a Squadron, and to employ the rest for the transportation of men, as occasion should require. In his return he met the news of Sir *G. Booth's* miscarriage and imprisonment: whereupon not knowing what to do, nor where to dispose the fleet, he put in at *Solebay*, whither they presently sent Commissioners to meet him, and dispose of the fleet; so that before Mr. *Hatton* could know where to find him, the fleet was in *Owesley-Bay*, and *Montague* himself a-shore. He hath been before the council of state on *Saturday* under a fair examination, and is yet under no restraint: but the fleet is ordered to several places; one part to the *Downs*, another to *Portsmouth*; but who commands in chief in either, I cannot yet learn.

For the affairs at home; they at *Westminster* are *A.D. 1659* as much perplexed as ever they were, being still full of fears and jealousies. *Lambert* is suspected to drive a design for himself, from his unwonted civilities to a conquered enemy, and by pressing so often and earnestly for the soldiers pay. The Army have as much reason to be jealous of the Parliament for continuing their levies of soldiers out of the congregated Churches under new Commanders, notwithstanding the business is so far over as to put a stop to the militia; and all of them are afraid of a storm from abroad. The engagement divides them very much. The fifth-monarchy-men refuse to engage against a single person, lest they should exclude Christ, when he comes to reign: and some that are not of their opinion are willing enough to abet their argument, under pretence of satisfying tender consciences. Others scruple at the words, *This Commonwealth*, till it be resolved what it shall be: which ordinarily takes up one day in a week in debating. Some are for it as it is; others with a co-ordinate senate: others are taken with *Harrington's* new model. It were no irrational ground of hope, that these divisions might be their ruin; if we had not heretofore seen them cement upon the point of guilt, when it was not so great as now they have made it. But as the case stands, this is said rather to inform, than advise any thing. The discontents of the city are also much heightened by obtruding the Mayor upon them for another year, by an order of the House; some Aldermen have laid down their cloth, and (I am told) five have fined for the Shrievalty, and none that is yet chosen will hold it.

But to speak more particularly. My good Mr. *Katris* makes it his business to discover what he can in *Lambert's* house, and none can do it better, both for interest, prudence and fidelity. Since my last,
he

A.D. 1659 he hath had some discourse with one Colonel *Bayns*, an old friend to *Lambert*, and finds him of opinion, that the best way for the Parliament will be to make them that were in the last rising to pay the charge they have been at in suppressing it, and so pardon them all, and grant an act of oblivion: and then settle some moderate government, such as will be acceptable to the people; and rather than thus lye open continually to the danger of foreign enemies, and discontents at home, to let the government be by King, Lords and Commons. He is a man of no great reach himself, and therefore may the rather be hoped to speak the sense of those that are, which he daily partakes of. My friend was also present with *Lambert's* wife, when Major *Creede*, her husband's great confident, fell foul upon the Parliament for denying him his old commission of Major General, and said he knew no reason why he should depend upon them for any command; and much more and higher to the same purpose. *Lambert* is sent for by the Council of State, and expected in town this week. When he comes, my friend will feel his pulse, in relation to your Majesty by my Lord *Bellasis*, if he gets his liberty, or otherwise by some other, and reserves himself to second it. I verily believe nothing will be wanting on his part: I am sure nothing shall on mine, who am, &c.

199.

The business stands fair still in most counties, and they long to be at work, for fear of the inquisition which is expected, particularly in *Gloucestershire*. They have sent one to *Massey*, to let him know how fair an opportunity there is for *Gloucester*, if they had but 200 horse, and if the time was seasonable in other respects. The inclosed is written in this cypher.

London, Sept. 12, 1659.

Sir

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

THE letters you were pleased to leave me, with ^{A.D. 1659} your favour of *July* 18, and *Aug.* 13, I detained upon my hands till the 5th of this instant; at which time I delivered them to the Marquis, by the advice of your friend, who thought that a proper season, because he had received some Bills from *Spain*, and that it was probable the Marquis might do so too. But by his answer, which was that when he should have wherewithal to do it, he would give you all manner of satisfaction, I perceived he had received none: and in truth I believe he did not; neither is it expected by many very near him, with whom I have spoken, that he will receive any money from *Spain*, till the return of Don *Louis de Haro* to *Madrid*.

It is publickly reported in this place, that Don *Louis* having been moved to introduce his Majesty's interests into the Treaty upon the Frontiers, seemed very well inclined thereunto, wishing that the motion might be made to the Cardinal, who (they say) was so far consenting as to permit that *Will. Dungan* should be sent expressly to invite his M. to the meeting: with which invitation, the same author said, Mr. *Dungan* came as far as *Paris*, since his M. departed from hence. Whether this be truth or not, it is conceived by some, that since our hopes in *England* are quashed for the present, his M. may think it more advantageous to his affairs to steer that course, than to return to this needy place.

In this case I humbly offer, as the likeliest means I can think of for your getting your whole arrears, (without which you can never expect that during our banishment, and our being in the *Spanish* dominions, you can be able to surmount your debts, and

subsist

A.D. 1659 subſiſt in any decency) that you write to the M. of *Caracena*, inſtrucking him to write a letter to Don *Louis de Haro*, ſignifying how much is in arrear of that penſion, which his Catholick M. was pleaſed to promiſe by Don *Alonzo de Cardenas*, ſhould be conſtantly and punctually paid you for your ſubſiſtence, and deſiring Don *Louis* to take ſome courſe for the payment of it by particular bills from *Spain*, with ſuch further additions and recommendations of you, as in his judgment and friendſhip to you he ſhall think fit and neceſſary towards the effecting of your deſires. And in this your letter to the Marquis, you may pleaſe to take notice of the civility of his expreſſions to you upon my delivery of your letters, and alſo intimate your reliance upon his generoſity in the payment of your ſaid arrears here, in caſe you ſhall not procure them in this way; which you can only expect thro' his favour and representation of your condition to Don *Louis*. This is ſo reaſonable a propoſition, that I am confident the Marquis will grant it moſt readily; and if Don *Louis* have any ſpark of generoſity in him, he cannot do leſs than ſatiſfy your arrears: and perhaps he may add ſomewhat more upon account; which would keep you a great while before-hand. God Almighty preſerve you in all your ways.

Bruffels, Sept. 13, 1659.

*Dr. Bramhall, Biſhop of Derry, to Dr. Earles
at the King's Court in Bruffels.*

Sent by Sir G. Lane to the M. of Ormonde.

S I R,

UPON Friday was a fortnight I writ three letters, one to you, one to Dr. *Morley*, and one to Mr. *Honeywood*. About two or three days after that,

that, Capt. *Pinkney* received one from Mr. *Honey-wood*; since which we have none of us had a syllable from *Brussels* or *Antwerp* from any hand. What to attribute it unto we do not know, whether to prudence, or a restraint, or a general consternation. After the following post brought us the fatal tydings, we were all struck dumb and dead, as if the sight of a *Medusa's* head had transformed us into stones. We felt too much, and yet our sufferings came short of our fears. Nay verily, I have been ashamed to walk abroad in the streets since, or to come in any company of men. Misfortune hath nothing more grievous in it, than that it renders men contemptible.

But it is the duty of good citizens never to despair of the commonwealth; no, not after as great a blow as that of *Canne*: and I know not how *dies adimit aegritudinem hominibus*. He had said more truly, *minuit* than *adimit*. Hope cleaveth close to the bottom of the box, and is not easily shaken out. This maketh us catch hold on every twig to save ourselves from drowning. I shall relate unto you two passages, both since our blow.

When the Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland* presented the Articles of Peace to the King of *Sweden*, he slighted them of *Holland*, only telling them that he knew where to find them. But he was more bitter with them of *England*, asking them, if they were not afraid to present such articles to him, a victorious King, signed with their hands, which were yet wet and stained with the blood of their own Sovereign: and demanded of them farther, if they did not know that he was able to restore his son. Since he rejected those Articles, he hath offered a particular Treaty to the King of *Denmark* himself. And if he do as much to the Emperor out of this high-resentment, I know no Prince in *Europe* hath more courage to attempt it, nor more power to go thro' with it. The

A.D. 1659

The other relation is of a child born in *London* about three months since, with a double tongue or divided tongue, which the third day after it was born cried, *a King, a King*, and bid them *bring it to the King*. The mother of the child saith, it told her of all that happened in *England* since, and much more which she dare not utter. This my Lady of *Inchiquin* writeth to her Aunt, *Me brow van Meliswarde*, living in this city, who shewed me the letter. My Lady writeth, that she herself was as incredulous as any person, until she both saw and heard it speak herself very lately, as distinctly as she herself could do, and so loud that all the room heard it. That which she heard was this. A Gentleman in the company took the child in his arms; and gave it money; and asked what it would do with it: to which it answered aloud, that *it would give it to the King*. If my Lady were so foolish to be deceived, or had not been an eye and ear-witness herself, I might have disputed it: but giving credit to her, I cannot esteem it less than a miracle. If God be pleased to bestow a blessing upon us, he cannot want means. To his blessing I recommend us. Yours ever,

J. DE.

Utrecht, Sept. 16, 1659.

The Swedish paper given in to the Commissioners of Parliament.

Right Honourable,

HIS most sacred Majesty our gracious Master hath commanded us in the highest manner to give the Parliament of the commonwealth of *England* his heartiest thanks for suffering your Royal fleet to abide so long time in those parts; and although the Officers of the said fleet had not such

instructions

from the Year 1641 to 1660. 209

instructions as our gracious King expected and hoped *A.D. 1659*
for, yet he acknowledgeth in the highest degree
their being there hath, by the the wonderful work-
ing of God's providence, proved much to the ad-
vantage of his Majesty's affairs, and would have
wished all had there been brought to a good per-
fect conclusion before the departure of the said fleet.
But his Majesty doth still hope and heartily desire
your Lordships would be pleased to persist in the
same good intelligence and meaning, and further let
be recommended to your care the at present de-
clining condition of the Protestant cause. More-
over his Majesty hath commanded us faithfully to
assure your Lordships that you never had, or shall
get any friend that shall with more thankfulness ac-
knowledge your friendly good offices add affections.

Your Honour's faithful Servants,

Sept. 20, 1659.

GEORGE FLEETWOOD.

J. VAN FRIESENDORFF.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormond.

I HAVE writ at least once a week to you, ever
since I saw you: how my letters have come to you
I know not. I have received none from you since
you left *Paris*, and therefore am in some pain till
I know what is become of you: though I cannot
doubt but this will find you with *Don Lewis de*
Hara; in confidence whereof *Lord Colepepper* with
Mr. Roper began their journey towards you yester-
day.

Mr. Druton came hither this day sevensnight, and
hath since stayed here, where the Diet is kept up
at the King's charge, though the clamour of our

A.D. 1659 creditors is so great, that it will not be possible to continue it for any time. But I hear the Princess Royal will be within less than a fortnight at *Breda*, and then Mr. *Yates* and Mr. *Durey* will go thither, and so that charge will cease. I am told that *Charles Berkeley* is immediately to be dispatched post for *Spain* to solicit the Duke of *York's* concerns, and some say he is gone already. You will hear (I doubt not) by him how much the affairs of *England* have suffered by the restraints which were put upon the Duke; which his people exceedingly inveigh against, and persuade others that the Duke himself is very sensible of; which shall be known in time. And I beseech you to tell Mr. *Orneley* (to whom I am afraid I shall not now have time to write) that he hath too good an opinion of his Rhetorick, if he believes that he left the Duke of *York* in any degree satisfied with him or convinced by his discourses: he may be confident, he hath as ill an opinion of him as ever.

I shall now give you a relation of the affairs of the *Sound*; I mean as they relate to us, upon which you can make a judgment as well as I. Our Knight is returned at last, and truly I think hath behaved himself honestly and hath passed many misadventures in his journey. When he came thither, the fleet was removed to such a distance as he could not pursue the method he had proposed for his communication; but finding that the English Commissioners were to be in *Copenhagen* on such a day, he put himself into the train of a Duke of *Lunenburg*, and so got into the Town; and quickly found that our friend Mr. *Montague* was there with the General. He sent first to him to speak with him, which the other refused, and thereupon he sent my letter to him by his servant. As soon as he had read it, he appointed him to come that night at twelve a clock to his chamber, where they con-

conferred till morning, and he took the King's letter for the General, obliging the Knight not to be seen in the town, or to make himself known to any of the Officers till he spoke with him again; which he appointed him to do the next night at the same hour. The day the General and the other Commissioners viewed the Town and Churches, in one of which our Knight was walking and was quickly spied by the General, who called him to him, and asked him what he did in those parts, and spake kindly with him in general of the affairs of *England*, without seeming to take notice that he had heard of his being in town. A.D. 1659

The next night when he came to our friend again, he spoke to him very freely of the temper of the fleet, of the want of victuals, of the want of ports, that if one half would follow the General (which was the most could be expected) even those when they found themselves destitute of ports and victuals, would make their peace by their delivering up their Officers. In a word, he told him, that his being in town was taken notice of by the Commissioners, and therefore it was most necessary in many respects that he should hasten away; that he would take the business upon him and satisfy me; and thereupon he gave him a letter to me, and another to *Opdam* to help him to a vessel to *Hamburg*; which *Opdam* immediately did. He was like to be drowned in his passage, and the weather being so extream foul, he was compelled to come from *Hamburg* into these parts by land, through all the Armies. He came from thence the 26th of the last month, having staid but three days there, and they had not then heard any word of the troubles of *England*: but the Commissioners had brought with them, besides other great promises, an act of pardon and indemnity of all that was past, which hath much composed their humours;

A.D. 1659 for they had upon the first news of the dissolution of the Parliament made a general protestation against the present power, and that they would adhere to the Protector, who since that time very graciously absolved the General of all his obligations and good intentions. Now I must tell you, that Mr. *Montague* hath writ as good a letter to me as I could wish, not only of his own entire devotion without the least consideration of his person or fortune, but of the General's disposition; that for the present nothing was to be done, and excused the hasty sending away the Knight, since though he doubted not the professions he made, yet the General durst not put himself so much into his hands, as to own his intentions to him; that upon any appearance of disorders in *England*, I might expect a good account from him, and that I should hear from him by the way of *England*.

Now our last letters from *Holland* tell us, that the English fleet upon a sudden departed from the *Sound*: but I hear not of their arrival upon the coast; of which, you may be assured I will make the best enquiry I can, and do all things else that shall occur to my understanding: and I do heartily wish that I could assure them of the friendship of the French ports and of any way to victual them. I do not intend that our Knight shall be known or seen here, but shall be gone to *Vlossingen* and stay there. He seems reasonably in amaze, that the ports of *Spain* have never been open to us, and believes that the fleet in the *Mediterranean* would never submit to this power, if they had any place to go to.

I shall not trouble you with any of our own domestick vexations. I have said all is necessary to *H. Bennet* to procure redress, and I am sure you will have some compassion upon us, though we are at such a distance. I do expect every hour to receive

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ceive some commands from the King to send some *A.D. 1659*
servants and his cloaths to him; which I shall obey
with all the power I have; but God knows how we
shall find money; for the little was left, though
managed with all possible frugality, in the payment
of some crying and importunate debts, in the car-
rying on that part of the continual expence of the
house, which could not be done but by ready mo-
ney, and the payment of your bill upon Mr. *Shaw*
from *Rouen*, hath so drained the stock, that I shall
be put to strange shifts to do the other, in compas-
sing whereof I almost despair. I shall conclude with
honest Mr. *Shaw's* service to you, who hath desired
me to send you the inclosed papers, which will in-
struct you enough in his business, if Sir *H. Bennet*,
who I am sure will do all he can, hath left his other
papers at *Madrid*. I hope the King will think it
worthy of him to appear and move it himself, as a
case wherein his own honour is concerned, to pre-
serve a person who hath served him so well, and
who upon my credit doth at this hour undergo all
imaginable reproaches for his fidelity. God keep
you; and me in your memory.

Brussels, Sept. 20. 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

YOU may be sure, that as often as Saturday
comes, you have a letter sent from me; besides
by all other opportunities which offer themselves,
as my last was three days since by Mr. *Berkley*.
How they find the way to you, I know not: I
am sure none from you hath come to me since
your leaving *Paris*; which gives me no small tor-
ment: which is exceedingly increased by some
mention *Marc's* made in his last of the King's be-

AD. 1659 ing sick. I shall not need to beg you to free me from all my fears as soon as is possible. Since my last to you, Captain *Fitus* and *Barron* are come hither from my Lord *Mordant*, who remains at *Calais* till he hears where the King is, and I believe, will then take post towards him; I mean as soon as *Barron* returns who is gone to *Breda* to give the Duke of *Yorke* an account of many hopes yet remaining in *England*, if he can bring a reasonable party with him to encourage them.

There is no doubt, the good humour is still in the people generally, and not abated upon these last misfortunes, nor the rebels in any degree united; so that if you can prevail for a winter enterprize, all things will be found as ready as you can wish, and the same confidence remains of Col. *Popham* and *Mansell* who renew their professions, and are not under suspicion, at least that is owned. It is apparent enough, that this return of *Montague* was upon the noise of the troubles of *England*, and expressly without order, which alarms them exceedingly. They have sent to him, but he forbears yet to go on shore. Our friends have done the best they can likewise to inform him and to work upon him: and I have endeavoured to send to him, and hope speedily to hear from him. I wish we had ports any where. There is some design upon *Dunkirke*, which I do not yet enough clearly understand: and *Massey* is by this time over with M. *Turenne* from Major General *Browne* to inform him of great things in their power, if he will help them; which negotiation can I doubt produce nothing. I cannot express to you the incredible offices which are every day performed by your host of the Garter towards our friends, by which they are preserved. I have writ in many letters to you of his modesty in the main. He seems much to doubt of the intentions of the *Spaniards* towards us, and

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and to believe that Don *Alonso de Cardenas* will *A.D. 1659*
soon return to them. I expect an express speedily
from him with some new discoveries. God keep
you.

The inclosed came just now to me from my Lord
Wentworth, which I lessened as much as I could
for the postage: the truth is, he directed yours
to me and mine to you; but having left them
unseal'd, I easily rectified it. I need add no-
thing in his recommendation. My Lord *Rich-*
ard is gone to *Breda* with the two Dukes.

Brussels, Sept. 27, 1659.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My very good Lord,

THE last night Mr. *Titus* and Mr. *Barron* came
hither from *Calais*; the latter of them from
our new Lord *Mordant*, who now takes that title
upon him and whom he left at *Calais*, and wishes
me to assure his Majesty that the whole business in
England relating to his Majesty's service (except
that of Sir *G. Booth*) stands still as fair and undis-
covered as ever; and that Mr. *Popham*, Sir *Horatio*
Townsend, Colonel *Roffier* and Mr. *Mansell* (which
last he saith was never before hearty in the service)
sent to Lord *Mordant* a little before he came from
London to let him know, that they will now attempt
any thing for the King to prevent the ruin of the
nation, if there can be but 2000 men sent over out
of *France* or *Flanders* to land in any reasonable
time in any part of *England*; and that they doubt
not but with such an assistance to do his Majesty's
business with good success. *Barron* saith, that Ma-
jor General *Browne* stays in *London* upon the same
P 4 account,

A.D. 1659 account, to see what assistance may be had from *France* or *Flanders*. My Lord *Mordant* says, that *Rookwood* the Fryar has betrayed several of his Majesty's friends, as Sir *Frances Vincent* and others, and that he conducted some of the Rebels troops to a wood where Lord *Mordant* was, and endangered the taking of him and all his company.

Its in *England* believed by very intelligent persons, that Sir *Henry Vane* and *Lambert* are both Papists; and its certain that Sir *Henry Vane* and *Hasslerig* do not agree. They were lately like to have fallen to blows in the Parliament House, about an oath proposed to be taken against the Government of a single person; which *Vane* refused. Those that now rule at *Westminster* are so very contradictory in their opinions concerning the Government, which they are endeavouring to settle, as its thought it will be impossible for them to agree upon any thing: so as if his Majesty can procure any considerable assistance in this conjuncture, he may easily effect his business. I pray be pleased to preserve me in his Majesty's gracious favour, and continue me the honour of being esteemed, as I am really and with all respect and affection, &c.

Brassells, Sept. 1st 1659.

E. N.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde,

My very good Lord,

THIS is my fourth to your Lordship, and I received your Lordship's from *Rochelle* of the 22d past the 7th instant. Its doubted, that the two great Ministers may be parted from the frontiers before the King can arrive there. We here
appre

apprehend much danger in his Majesty's passage by ^{A.D. 1659} sea, but the wind having been very contrary in these parts, we hope he went by land, and shall be in pain till we understand of his safe arrival. I confess, I very much apprehend that Cardinal *Mazarin* may not be so favourable to his Majesty's interest as some in *France* believe, and as I conceive, he ought to be even for his own honour and interest. We have dispatched *Toby Rustat* and Mr. *Delves* hence with all the things mentioned in the King's note and some linnen. I have herein sent your Lordship what I have this week received from *England*; by which its evident the Rebels there are not like suddenly to make any settlement of their pretended commonwealth, being much divided in opinion and factions concerning it: and indeed the Parliament (as all letters say) is at present in a very unstable condition, so as most are of opinion it will be shortly either dissolved or at least purged by *Lambert* and the army, and your Lordship will by the inclosed and other advertisements from *England*, (which my Lord Chancellor will send you) perceive that in all probability there is like to be before it be long some great alterations in the Government there; and therefore I hope his Majesty will consider whether it may not be expedient to dispatch his negotiations and affairs where he is, so timely that he may draw nearer these parts with as much convenient speed as may be, that he may be ready to make his best advantage of any changes that may happen in *England*; where (if we hear truth) his Majesty's business stands still very fair and many of his good subjects are still ready to rise for him, in case considerable force shall be sent over from this side the sea for his Majesty's assistance.

I hear the Lord *Fermyn* and *Abbot Montague* were this week to go to the French Court. I suppose

Lord

n.D. 1659 Lord Mordant will wait on the King as soon as he can possibly. He expected the last week his Lady at *Calais*, whether she intended to make her escape, being much sought after in *England* by the Rebels. The Earl of *Oxford* had a great loss in his Lady. The Dukes are still at *Breda*, but expected here some time the next week.

God of Heaven preserve his Majesty and all of you, and prosper all your counsels and negotiations with a happy success, &c E. N.

My poor Lord *Newbourg* hath been at death's door, but we now have hopes he may recover. There have been this week again new tumults at *Antwerp*, but now all is said to be pacified and some of the chief ringleaders are apprehended and imprisoned, being found to be strangers that came thither for plunder only.

Brussels, Saturday Oct. 11, 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

YOU cannot think that it is any pleasure to me to begin all my Letters with telling you that I have not received a word from you since I left *Paris*: and I do now the less wonder at it, because for all my diligence in writing by every post on Saturday, and by some extraordinary conveyances in the week, I find that you may have been without hearing from me; and whatever others are miscarried, three are brought back to me, in two of which there were letters to the King and to the Earl of *Bristol* from myself, and to both of them from the Prince of *Condé* and *M. Marchin*. How these come to be returned to me, though they were returned from *Britany*, you will find by what I have written

written to Sir *H. Bennet* of *Lockhart's* having in-^{A.D. 1659}tercepted our packets: which makes me not yet resolve, whether I shall now send those which were so long since sent from the Prince of *Condé* and *M. Marchin*, not knowing whether they be in cypher: and it may suffice, that as the diligence *M. Marchin* used in soliciting these Ministers, and in making all other provisions whilst there was hope of *England*, was most earnest and most effectual, so you can hardly imagine the extraordinary zeal and affection the Prince of *Condé* shewed to his Majesty. Upon my conscience, he would have done great things for his service, if the designs had succeeded; for which I think the King should do very well to write him a letter of thanks, as taking notice of it from me, to whom alone by the Prince of *Condé's* directions. *M. Marchin* communicated, with an intent no doubt, that I should transmit it to the King in cypher. Let not this letter to him be sent through my hands, but thro' Monsieur *Laynes*.

Of our domestick affairs here, I need say little to you, both because you cannot be without a sufficient knowledge of them, and I have said enough to Sir *H. Bennet*. I hope you will joine with him in procuring somewhat for our ease, and to remember if it were so hard for us to hold up our heads whilst the King and you were here, how little courage we must have now, when we have so little countenance. And I pray remember that besides the insupportable debts that we lie under, the expence continues and runs on here almost in the same degree it did. The diet was kept up with very much ado till the Dukes went to *Brady*, but it will be impossible to reassume it on their return, though it is very probable they may be persuaded to expect it; for Sir *John Berkeley* is very sure that we have great stores of money, whatever

A.D. 1659 we pretend to the contrary, and that the King had vast sums returned out of *England*, out of which the Duke ought to have had some share. And when I take pains to convince him of the contrary, he seems so civil as to believe me, yet to the next man he meets he declares as he did before, and is of opinion that if new counsels be taken the King's business was never so hopeful, and that it is the King's own fault if the Cardinal doth not do his business.

I have told you in my former letters, that Mr. *Ros* desires the King's directions and orders about the employment he was designed to. Lord *Crofts* writes him word, that he knows of no such thing. The honest man is in an uneasy posture, having depended on this service and disposed his affairs accordingly. God keep you.

Brussels, Oct. 4, 1659.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

YOU are so far from *England*, and 'tis so uncertain for your correspondents to address to you, that I fear you may be a stranger to the truth of affairs there: and should the opinion of their sad and desperate condition still possess you, it might prove very prejudicial to what we all aim at. My Lord, give me leave to assure you, the perfect discovery of Sir *R. Willis*, *Rookewood* and some others has heightened the Spirits of many that were upon the engagement but dull, and the miseries most foresee, if this mixt Government should continue, will add considerable advantages to the King. I know you will permit me all freedom imaginable upon this account; which if I did not use, I could

I could not be that subject to the King, nor the ^{4.D.1659} servant in particular to you as certainly you will find me.

My Lord, I have such assurances from those that rule the army or at least the most numerous part of it, and from those that are in all their counsels, that I may own to your Lordship, I do not see how the King can be longer kept out, if yet his business fall into honest and prudent hands. The particulars, which are many, I had sent you before this, but that my cypher was left here, and I dare not trust names nor places thus. I am yet resolved to take post to-morrow to find the King; for if upon the apprehension of our ill posture in *England*, his Majesty comes to agreement with either or both Crowns, the conclusion will most certainly be to his future prejudice every way: and though I should esteem his restoration a very great blessing, were it by the Turke; yet when it may be done more to his honour and his nation's, without those dilatory preparations of Armies Royal and severities of absolute conquest, I think I am concerned, by giving your Lordship notice of what I know, to prevent as much of my nation's ruin and the destruction of the Nobility as I can. Yet I shall be far from persuading a rash attempt, or to an undertaking with a force may receive a foyle: but if by as much demonstration as a thing of this nature will permit, I make it plain, 'tis both reasonable and probable a small force may do it, I cannot doubt but you, my Lord, will second me, whose great fidelity, prudence and duty to the King will be now as necessary to him as on any occasion since you were so justly near him in his favour and counsels.

Pray, my Lord, communicate this to any but the King, unless it be as a confirmation of your opinion (which I dare say it is) upon the true prospect

A.D. 1659 *pect of affairs.* Pray God my health permit me to
 ~~~~~ dispatch this journey according to my desires; for  
 though it pleased God I escaped miraculously my-  
 self alone, I am in great pain for others, whom I  
 expect to day, amongst whom is my wife, who is  
 equally with me, I assure you, my Lord,

*Your and your Family's most humble,*

*Calais, Oct. 8,*  
*1659.*

*and most faithful Servant,*

**MORDANT.**

*Lord Mordant to the King.*

*S I R,*

**B**Y Mr. *Barron's* return from the Duke of *York*  
 I find his Highness cannot, or will not please  
 to do me the honour to inform me where I may  
 kiss your Majesty's hands. Lord Chancellor and  
 Mr. Secretary advise me to repair to your Majesty  
 with all diligence imaginable: and finding so un-  
 expected a change in the English affairs, I am  
 confirm'd 'tis my duty. In the doing it I shall  
 find some difficulties: but I hope to overcome them,  
 and am at present only concerned I have not given  
 your Majesty such advertisements as would take off  
 some of your sad hours, if your Majesty has rea-  
 son to have any.

Sir, upon *Lambert's* return to *London*, and the  
 meeting of another council of Officers, confusion  
 increases so visibly, that a less assistance than most  
 imagine from either Crown, in probability cannot  
 but restore you. I intend if it please God, to take  
 post to-morrow, that I may securely satisfy your  
 Majesty of some particulars of importance, and that  
 your Majesty may gain time; which may be of  
 great



great consequence as things stand, for one happy hour may do that which we have been endeavouring so many years: and truly in my opinion, your Majesty may be suddenly restored.

If I knew your Majesty had the cypher, this had brought you the particulars: but I not knowing that, dare not send them thus: for which I hope I have your pardon. I presumed to write to your Majesty upon my arrival, which will give me trouble if it miscarried. Mr. Armer sent it to Mr. Church. My Lord Lichfield came safe hither yesterday, with several others engaged with me. He presents his duty to your Majesty, and they are all ready to return when your Majesty commands them, or your Majesty's, &c.

Calais, Oct. 8, 1659.

MORDANT.

Lord Mordant to the King.

SIR,

I SHALL not apprehend, when your Majesty will have considered the reasons make me change my resolutions since yesterday, that you will look on it as levity, or believe any motive but that of my duty could prevail with me to stay. But having so great, though unmerited, a share in the honour of your trust, I could not answer my remove, either to your Majesty or to those in *England*, who are pleased to believe me so far honest and just, as to put their lives and fortunes into my hands, when this day from many of them I am extremely pressed to return. Sir, you may conclude your affairs there have a good face, when so many considerable persons are still so willing to engage, not knowing more than what their own interests may reach to, and the general

*A.D. 1659* general propension of the Nation. Upon this I find my stay more necessary than I judged my journey before; since a total change of government is daily expected, or at least such a breach as will engage the parties in blood. But of my stay here or remove, either to your Majesty or into *England*, the least intimation of any of your Majesty's commands disposes me with a cheerfulness, answerable to my respect and duty: and certainly so long as your Majesty finds my services may in the least advance your interest, your Majesty will know where to find an honest servant will obey, without being curious.

A person of fortune and interest, and one whose abilities has rendered him courted by all parties, and very familiar with most of the intrigues since this unhappy war, upon the prospect of the present disturbed transactions, finding it now lay in his power to serve your Majesty considerably, made applications to a near friend of mine, which he desired might with all possible diligence be transmitted to your Majesty. But, Sir, I must not omit the chiefest part of his character (which I have from such hands as I dare say your Majesty will credit) that concludes him to be as moral and religious, as wise; and that he excels in parts, I take for granted, having it from those that know him perfectly. This person assures himself, he has such an influence upon those that now push for power, and upon those that steer most counsels, that not only nothing of consequence can be kept secret from him, but that he may have interest sufficient to precipitate or retard the breach, or at least to make the balance encline to what side your Majesty, shall judge most to your advantage. He states the interests thus, and truly by that I am confirmed, he has a perfect knowledge of the present affairs, as to what relates to the Parliament and Army.

*Haselrig*

*Haselrig* (he says) now appears the champion for *Liberty, Parliaments and a Republick*. He is seconded by *Nevil*, and Mr. *Harrington's* cabal; only he dissents about rotation. *Fleetwood* seems to lean that way, and these carry the votes. *Lambert* is the single person *Sir H. Vane* designs, and an alliance between them unites their interests. These are seconded by all the desperate Sectaries, and by a considerable part of the army, with the whole body of the Catholics (of which I was assured before I heard this account). He says Mr. *Henry Howard* heads these, and had agreed with *Lambert*; in case *Sir G. Boothe* brought it to a war, to have joined with the army; that upon declaration of their good intentions a toleration was to be granted them; which though your Majesty at the same time had profered, they would have refused upon the account of the establishment of that religion there: he gives that for their reason. If *Lambert* succeeds the Church of *England* must fall, and then nothing but schisms remaining, their toleration will gain upon the multitude: which if so, by taking off those in their prisons, who are for quality, courage and fortune, the most considerable of your Majesty's friends, they will easily free themselves from future apprehensions of any party's disputing their settlement. A toleration was moved in the House, but instantly decried. He says, Thursday the Council of Officers designed to come to a resolution, and his opinion is they may push at dissolving the House or purging it, so as *Lambert* and *Vane* may be satisfied.

The House party and assertors of liberty believe their interest equal to *Lambert's* in the army; and this person believes, they will dispute it frankly. If it come to a war, he says, the Presbyterians will join with the Parliament and submit to a Republick, being dissatisfied with the foul play the Cavaliers used in *Sir G. Boothe's* business. If these prevail,



*A.D.* 1659 vail, the prifoners will be freed and no bloodfhed :  
 if *Lambert* have fuccefs, he believes, they will all die.

Sir, he propofes for prevention, that your Majefty, having now intereft with both Crowns, immediately get into readinefs 3 or 4000 men, and that upon the firft breach you land. His opinion then is, the lefs violent party of the very Schifmaticks, all the Prefbyterians, and moft of the Houfe will join with you. Sir, from this perfon your Majefty will have a perfect account of what paffes, and he humbly defires to kifs your hands, when your Majefty comes fo near that he may do it and run no rifque of difcovery, which he is extreme cautious in, that your Majefty may not lofe the fervice of fo ufeul a perfon, nor he be ruined by the indiscretion of fome near you. There is but one perfon he will truft to bring him to kifs your hands, and for his name, he will not permit it to be known to me, till he come to pay your Majefty his duty. This, Sir, is what I am defired to impart to your Majefty from this perfon; which I have hopes may prove highly to your fervice.

I fhall now prefent your Majefty with feveral advertifements your great prudence will turn to the beft ufes. The Officer who now commands in *Exeter*, refolves to render it up to your Majefty, if either your Majefty or the Duke of *York* lands in *Devonfhire* or *Cornwall*, which countries are very proper for a winter's war: and from Mr. *Windham* I have now affurance he will upon your Majefty's commands appear very confiderably, and had engaged now, but that he expected the commands your Majefty promifed him, whenever you intended to come into *England*. A regiment come from *Dunkirk* is quartered now in *Exeter*; another in and near *Glocefter*; both which will be difpofed of, as your Majefty pleafes to command.

For,

For *Northampton*, though my Lord be in the *A.D. 1649* Tower, and has lost his interest by not appearing when the country was all ready; yet your Majesty's letter, either to Sir *John Norwich* or Mr. *Henry Yelverton*, will secure the place and raise that county. I know not what friendship they have together, their interests being different; *Yelverton's* with the Preachers, Sir *John Norwich's* with the Gentry. The last is a soldier, and I think the most popular. What your Majesty commands either of them, I will be sure you shall have a true account of. For *Norfolk*, the preparations were so fair, and the intentions of the person so cordial, that your Majesty may reasonably expect great advantages from thence; and if the least help be sent from *Flanders*, that convenient town will soon be fortified to amuse a greater army than can be sent against it. The West was never so hearty, yet I cannot but humbly offer it to your Majesty's consideration, whether those of a different principle in religion may not be so in other respects. For the fairest engagers in those parts, when it came to, were very backward, and when Mr. *Popham* invited them to it, their answer was they would not engage, unless your Majesty were there in person, or one of your brothers; which at that time they too well knew could not be. Sir, I am heartily sorry, I cannot give your Majesty those pleasing accounts of your subjects I would, there being nothing in the world more painful to me than to say or write what may be prejudicial to any; yet lest your Majesty may upon wrong information employ those who cannot or will not serve you in the first place, my duty engages me to say what nothing else could.

*Charles Littleton* landed here yesterday, and desires his duty may be humbly presented your Majesty. I cannot forbear doing him the right to assure your Majesty, no person appeared more considerably (Sir

*A.D.* 1659 *G. Bootbe* excepted) than he, and he had undoubtedly carried *Sbrewsbury*, but that one misfortune upon another happened. He desires me to let your Majesty know, in obedience to your commands *Mr. Finch* succeeded so well in his treaty with *Sir John Pettice* that he gave him order to assure your Majesty *Fleetwood* now looks upon your Majesty's restoration as so clearly his interest as well as his duty, that he had declared himself publicly, had your Majesty or the Duke of *York* landed: and although that engagement failed, he is still ready to come in to your Majesty, whensoever you attempt in person. If your Majesty have any particular service to command him, my cousin *Littleton* has directions to send to him, and will return the account by me. The Lord *George Fleetwood* and *Dr. Staines* have been very instrumental to fix the Lieutenant-General. Finding this account grows to a bulk will prove tedious to your Majesty, I shall only inform you, that the Speaker will, if your Majesty land, leave the House, or if you command, declare for you: but most of these people (I fear) intend more their own service than your Majesty's, and that their profers are rather effects of fear than duty. *Thurloe* is now high in *Lambert's* intrigue, and one will prejudice your affairs more than any man I know. *Overton* who is now in *Hull*, and the Lieutenant of the Tower are for the Parliament: and the parties form and arm daily.

I should now give your Majesty an account of the miscarriages of the late betrayed risings; but that I know your Majesty believes this bearer so honest, he will not dare to tell you any thing he has not order for, nor what is not true. What relates to *Mr. Russel*, Lord *Bruce*, *Sir W.* and *Charles Compton*, and my good Lord *Northampton's* easiness, which destroyed the Northern and Eastern engagements, he has had from many hands. For Lord *Byron's* failing,



failing, Mr. Cowper will give you the account: and *A.D. 1659*  
I fear the Lords farther North have not done so  
discreetly as they ought. For the fleet, the misfor-  
tune was sad, it coming home purposely to declare:  
but if it may yet be made useful, I shall be able to  
give your Majesty a true relation.

What concerns *Monck*, Sir *John Grenville* has gi-  
ven account to my Lord Chancellor, and truly, Sir,  
the industry of that worthy person may deserve  
your Majesty's taking notice of it. And for Mr.  
*Rumbold*, whose indefatigable constant endeavours  
are so essential in most of your affairs, I humbly de-  
sire your Majesty will please to write to him, and let  
him know his stay there cannot but be very useful  
to you. Sir, if you please to admit Sir *J. Gren-  
ville* and Sir *Thomas Peyton* into the trust, they re-  
siding always in *London*, will supply the places of  
the Earl of *Northampton* and Mr. *Newport*. These  
with the eminent gownmen will take care of all the  
grand concerns, if your Majesty think them proper.  
I humbly desire their letter will be directed to me,  
and I will send an express with it. The very hand-  
some and worthy deparment of *Babington* and all  
the Captains of that regiment, and of their Colonel  
too, if in general your Majesty please to take notice  
of, it would powerfully continue them your Maje-  
sty's servants, and work happy effects on many Of-  
ficers in the army who want only encouragement.  
I have received another account of *Monck*, which I  
refer to Mr. *Barron*.

Upon the whole, if your Majesty please to par-  
don me, if I give my opinion, it is this. That if,  
upon confidence of the reality of both Crowns pro-  
ceeding, your Majesty design a conquest, you in  
that case reflect on nothing in this account, to with-  
draw you from any concessions, which in your wis-  
dom you think fit to grant. But if by taking just  
measures of the proportions the Crowns jointly a-

*A.D.* 1659 agree to allow of men, money and shipping, your Majesty cannot conclude a conquest certain, I cannot but own it my opinion that this opportunity which now offers itself in *England* ought to be laid hold of; it being the sense at present of all prudent people that a very small force will restore you, if landed seasonably. But if either party so prevail before your Majesty appear, that the other is clear routed, 'twill have one of these events; the extirpation of the Nobility and Gentry, except the Catholics; or a Commonwealth, the Presbyterians included: if either of these, God only knows in his mercy, when he will restore your Majesty.

Sir, upon serious thoughts, this occurs to me for prevention; that your Majesty's person be not so far from *England*, as that in a few days you may not appear there; and that instantly such order be taken, as if a breach happen in *England* (which most conclude certain) some reasonable numbers of men be ready in *France* and *Flanders* to be transported to give shelter and encouragement to your party to rise. If your Majesty please to write to the *Mareschal de Turenne*, and recommend me to him, I shall see nothing omitted that may persuade him to be earnest and diligent in preparing men, arms and ammunition. I move this to your Majesty, because he desires to speak with some person of quality who can give him a true and just account of *England*: and because since I knew it, Sir *Herbert Lunsford* and my cousin *Howard* have applied themselves to me for directions, which I have given them.

Sir, as I find your Majesty inclined, I shall approve myself by my quick obedience to be,

Your Majesty's, &c.

*Calais, Oct. 11, 1659.*

MORDAUNT.

Sir

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

*I could not well avoid giving you all this trouble  
in cypher, which you will cause to be decy-  
phered by some trusty hand.*

YOU will easily believe that yours of the 22d <sup>A.D. 1659</sup> from Rochelle, which came to me by the last post, was very welcome to me, though I concluded before, by what Sir George Cartaret writ to me, that you would by that time have been at the frontiers: and I am not without some fear that a rumour, which I told you in one of my former came from Stroud of the King's having been sick, had some foundation of truth in it. I make no doubt you have made all the haste you could, yet I must tell you, the P. of Condé is infinitely troubled out of the apprehension that the King will not be arrived there, before the two Ministers are parted; which he thinks will not be without much prejudice to him. I will not blame you for being unwilling to take the pains to use much cypher yourself, if you will be content that I use much to you; which I cannot avoid, having many particulars of moment to impart.

In the first place, I am desired by a letter which lay long on the way, and came not to me till within these two days, from Charles Littleton, who if he holds his resolution may be by this time with you: yet since he desired me to take care that the King should know it, I pray inform him, that Fleetwood makes great professions of being converted, and of a resolution to serve the King upon the first opportunity. The truth is, the men are mad and know not which way to turn or what to do with their prisoners, who carry themselves as if they were the

Q 4

better



*A.D.* 1659 better men. I have adviſed that *Fleetwood* doth all he can to keep his intereſt in the army, and to oppoſe the faction of *Lambert*, who I believe will diſſolve the Parliament, before this can come to your hands; which will not be amiſs, if the army can be kept from being united, and the city, which is diſcontented enough, from joining with either. Our friends there recover courage apace, and are far from thinking themſelves deſperate. There is no doubt, if the two Crowns will but frankly declare, that they will have nothing to do with theſe mad fellows, who have no form, nor order of government, nor any rules to live by amongſt themſelves or towards other men, we ſhould quickly make an end of the work, and a little more money than 20 years ſince would have ſerved to have purchaſed five of our weſtern manours, would now ſerve to purchaſe the kingdom.

I find that Sir *H. Bennet* is troubled at the frequent advertiſements and cautions I have given him concerning *Peter Talbot*, and believes him uſeful to the King's ſervice, (which it is not in my power to do) and therefore I ſhall no more mention him to him: but I think it neceſſary to inform you of a particular ſtory relating to him, the truth whereof you are not to doubt, and there are ſome particulars, which without adminiſtering matter of jealouſy to him, you may occaſionally aſk, and by it judge of the reſt. You muſt in the firſt place know, that during his late being in *England*, he made a ſtrict friendſhip with Col. *Bampfſeld*, with whom he did communicate his cloſeſt affairs. He was ſent over by *Scot* and Sir *H. Vane* in this negotiation to the frontiers, with which *Lockhart* was not intruſted, *i. e.* *Lockhart* knew nothing of *Talbot's* being employed. *Bampfſeld* was at the ſame time ſent to *Paris* upon an employment that I cannot yet learn the bottom of: but both of them came over

over in one of the State Frigates to *Dieppe*. When <sup>A.D. 1659</sup> they were upon the sea together, *Talbot* one day in discourse told Col. *Bampfild* that he knew he had been a servant of the Duke of *York*, and that though he had been disoblged by the King, yet the Duke of *York* and those about him were still kind to him; and he was confident he was not without good affections to the Duke; that there was a great party of the kingdom well-affected to the Duke (whereof he *Peter Talbot* himself was one) who would serve the Duke with all their power, though they would have nothing to do with the King; that these people in *England* can never come to any thing, or settle any government to which the people would submit; and therefore he wished him to think again of serving his old master.

This discourse I should have told you at first was entered into with mutual professions of friendship to each other, and protestations, that if any thing fell from either in point of opinion not agreeable to the sense of the other, no ill use should be made of it. And after the Father had finished his discourse aforesaid, the Colonel requited him with a full concurrence in all he had said, and very frank expressions of his affection to the Duke of *York*, with sharpness enough against the King. After this the wind, which had not been favourable from their first setting out, grew more tempestuous and at last drove them back to the English shore; I think to *Rye*, where they were compelled to land and stay till the vessel was mended; a circumstance which you may easily in discourse find, whether true or not. When they were on shore, Col. *Bampfild* had the skill, upon the discourse of the main employment and refusal of *Talbot's* instructions, to persuade him that he ought to get one of the instructions altered, and offered whilst the vessel should be mending, to ride post himself to the Secretary *Scot*, and get it done: which

*A.D.* 1659 which the other willingly consented to. When he came to *London*, he told *Scot* and Sir *H. Vane*, what an excellent emissary they had got, and how faithful he would be to their interests, and so acquainted them with all that had passed between them at sea. It took up some hours consultation whether they should not cause the fellow to be seized upon, and brought up and hanged : but finding themselves not ready for such a prosecution, they concluded he could not do much hurt (now they know him so well) by prosecuting his employment, resolving to take no other revenge on him for the present, than by informing the Ministers here what characters he had given of them, and of their several defects, in order to getting the employment for himself to the frontiers. Hereupon the Colonel made haste back again to him with his instruction amended ; and to *France* they went together in the same frigate, and as soon as they came to *Paris*, the Father betook himself to his devotions at the Palace Royal ; of all particulars whereof *Bampfild* diligently informed his Masters. Whilst they were there, Lord *Fermin* sent to *Bampfild*, that he would be glad to see him, and confer together upon old acquaintance ; to which the Colonel replied, that he knew there was a great prejudice upon him, and that his waiting upon his Lordship might be liable to many exceptions, and therefore desired to be excused. Lord *Fermin* sent again or writ to him, that he would meet him in any place appointed, and that he was not unacquainted with the conference that had passed between Father *Talbot* and him. And thereupon there was a farther communication between them, of all which he gave an exact account to his Masters, and (upon my conscience) of many particulars which never passed. Methinks you should make some use of this information ; and tho' by it you may conclude that he



is lost enough in *England*, yet methinks it should be *A.D. 1659*  
 the strangest thing in the world if you should be-  
 lieve he can be applicable any where to the King's  
 service. And I must tell you, that *Father Clarke*  
 hath been with me with much trouble, upon sight  
 of some of his vain letters to his correspondents  
 here, wherein he brags of his interest in *Sir H. Bennet*,  
 and of his having persuaded him how in-  
 discreetly he hath been dealt withal by the King's  
 Ministers, and of his usefulness to his service: and  
*Father Clarke* believes, it will be an irreparable  
 blow to the society, if after such a proceeding of  
 theirs against him, purely out of their zeal to the  
 King's service, and upon full evidence of the mis-  
 chief he did him, his Majesty should now counte-  
 nance him so far as to give him any trust, nor in-  
 deed to give the world occasion to believe that his  
 displeasure is lessened towards him.

I do not say any thing of this to you with a de-  
 sire that it should be reserved from *Sir H. Bennet*;  
 which I take to be necessary for his information; if  
 it be supported by your authority, and all necessary  
 caution used, that by mentioning too many parti-  
 culars, there may not be such a communication as  
 may bring prejudice to your intelligence. I have  
 some reason to believe, that the *Marquis de Cara-*  
*cena* and *Don Alonzo de Cardenas* himself have  
 done the best they can to lessen his credit with *Don*  
*Louis de Haro*: and if it is not in my power, with  
 all my submission to *Sir H. Bennet*, to believe that  
*Peter Talbot's* ministry can be of use to our Master  
 in any part of the world, or that the King of *Eng-*  
*land* can with his honour give him the least counte-  
 nance, or forbear declaring his displeasure against  
 him, which no man hath ever more merited, and  
 who can never find credit enough to do him hurt,  
 but by being trusted and supported by him: and  
 that way he will do him hurt enough every where.

*A.D.* 1659 I must not forget to add one story more. You remember there was a Fryar sent over to you by *Peter Talbot* with a letter of credit, and of all particulars that passed between you and him and Father *Barton* you informed both me and Mr. *Belling*. And I do assure you *Scot* had as exact an information of all the particulars as upon our best recollection *Belling* and I could make, whether this came to him by the Fryar, or *Barton*, or *Talbot*, I cannot judge.

I will conclude, I mean, all that hath relation to the publick, with telling you that I had this week an account from Mr. *Montague*, and you may be most assured that the fleet came home without any orders from the Parliament, and with honest purposes to the King; and heard not till they came upon the coast the least advertisement of the total suppression of all our friends: nor was it then possible to unite them in any brave and desperate undertaking; so that the sickness of the men, and the want of victuals, was urged as the cause of their return, which for the present satisfies: and I believe they will hardly be able to set out another fleet, in which we shall not have many friends, if they may know whither to come to us.

Yesterday *Toby* went from hence towards you, and I made a shift to send away *Dick Delves* with him. It is very strange that neither the King nor you should in your instructions make the least mention of linen, which I take to be a commodity you are most in need of, and can be least supplied with there: and therefore Mr. Secretary and I, finding *Toby* to concur with us, advised him to take that provision with him, and Mr. *Delves* to carry likewise your stock. I have had this long time a terrible cough, which torments me still. God preserve you, and bring us well again together.

*Brussels*, Q<sup>*B*</sup>. 11, 1659,

*Sir*

Sir E. Nicholas to the King.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Humbly beg your Majesty's leave to make use *A.D. 1659*  
of my cypher with my Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint your Majesty that *Hartgill Barron*, being sent about the end of the last month by Lord *Mordant* with a letter and message to the Duke of *York*, at his return hither from *Breda*, (which was two days after my former letter to your Majesty) told me, that his message to the Duke was to propose a match to his Highness, which, if liked by your Majesty and the Duke, might be a means of restoring your Majesty to your Crown. I asked him who it was that he proposed for a match, and what the Duke said to him upon it. He said, it was the daughter of a Gentleman of power and good quality in *England*; but he was not to tell who it was; and that the Duke of *York* said, he should be ready to do any thing that lay in his power, that your Majesty should command him, in order to your restoration: but Mr. *Barron* enjoined me by all means not to speak of this to Lord Chancellor, or any other. I then told Mr. *Barron*, I wished that Lord *Mordant* had acquainted your Majesty with that business, before he had proposed it to the Duke. He said, that his Lordship intended to have done so, if your Majesty had been in these parts. Since, I have this week received a little note from Lord *Mordant* in cypher, desiring me to take particular notice to your Majesty, that he had willed Mr. *Barron* to inform me of a match proposed to the Duke of *York* from a friend of *Lambert's*: and in case your Majesty approve of it, and as you shall command, he will find ways to advance it, or let it



*A.D.* 1659 it fall. Whereupon I have now written to Lord *Mordant*, not to say or write any thing more of that business to the Duke, or any person whatever, until his Lordship shall have particularly acquainted your Majesty therewith : and I hope he will therein take my advice ; he being resolved (as he writes) to repair to your Majesty as soon as he can possibly be supplied with money : which he daily expects by his Lady, who was to be at *Calais* this week. If Lord *Mordant* come not to your Majesty, I humbly offer it to your consideration, whether it may not be convenient for you, either to write something to his Lordship concerning your pleasure in this business, or to be pleased to let me understand what I shall say to him about it, wherein your Majesty's commands will, I doubt not, be carefully obeyed by him, as they shall be most humbly by, Sir, &c.

The Dukes came hither yesterday from *Breda* and are both in good health.

*Brussels*, Oct.  $\frac{2}{12}$ , 1659.

*Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.*

*My Lord,*

I AM sorry I had not your sense of what we may reasonably expect from the transactions upon the Frontiers, that my return to those have sent for me might be the more welcome. Indeed I shall depend on little but what you honour me with : for as I know the world, I must know you for one of the worthiest persons in it. My Lord, that great integrity and principles of honour you practise, makes you receive the esteem and value all good men pay you : and for the others, no respect from them

them can add to your greatness. Pray, my Lord, <sup>A.D. 1659</sup> believe I am more your servant upon that account, than I can be on any other; tho' I have so many obligations to you, and indeed I may say, I have both those ties and inclinations to serve all yours.

I so certainly foresaw this rupture, that I constantly importuned his Majesty to think of a return, and to improve all his interest to the sudden engaging a small body of foot, which, with arms for horse, and other necessaries, would have most certainly rendered him master of his own. For never breach was so universal, nor so impossible in human apprehension to be pieced: they have several times been drawn up to try their fate; but as yet I hear of no blood drawn. I wish I had been at *London* when it first happened: but I will make all diligence imaginable to do them a good turn; for 'tis not impossible, tho' I was so fiercely prosecuted two months ago, but that now I may find those who will be glad to discourse with me. Colonel *Philips* goes with me, and I assure you, my Lord, we shall be well received. I have, upon notice of this breach, writ to the Chancellor, and sent an express to the two Dukes, and another to the *M. de Turenne*; but my heart will be broke if his Majesty come not time enough to engage, or give orders on this occasion; which we could never have wished a fairer. But lest any unexpected accident may prevent the King's coming, let me earnestly make it my humble request to you, that all ways be tried to engage the publick Minister of *France* to demand the King's restoration of the officers of the army; and if it be feasible, to engage another from *Spain*. This, if refused, would render *Lambert* so odious to the very soldiers, that it will ruin him. By my hand your Lordship will find I am extremely pressed  
in

*A.D.* 1659 in time, which will procure your pardon for this  
 ~~~~~ confused account from,

My Lord, &c.

Calais, Oct. 28, 1659.

MORDANT.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormōnde.

IF this were not Saturday, you would be without any letter from me ; for besides that I writ you so very long a one the last week, that you have scarce I doubt read it yet, this last post hath brought me none from you, nor from any body that knows any thing of you ; which is no small vexation to me, and I assure you improves the indisposition of health I sustain ; which hath kept me now in my chamber these twelve days ; but they say 'tis nothing but a cold, and that all will be well. It is a melancholy thing to be without hearing from you, and consequently unable to answer any questions by whomsoever or from whencesoever they be demanded, and for which I hope in a short time we shall be better furnished.

Of the ease and plenty we are in, I need say little to you, when I tell you that we have not yet received a dollar since you went ; which I hope you will cause to be pressed ; and I pray remember your own particular ; for your debts here make a great noise, and the more in that you seem not to have taken care enough of them, nor to have left any memorial of what you owe, nor can I speak with any person who is enough instructed ; Mr. Fox knowing little of the particulars left with Mr. *Delves* and Sir *G. Lane*, who hath only authority to receive the money, having an account apart of other particulars which must be first provided for. In a word, the whole amounts to a great sum, and therefore

therefore you shall do well to be very solicitous that effectual orders may be sent. *A.D. 1659*

There is one particular that I think necessary the King be informed of, by which you will judge of the temper and good disposition of the Ministers here. As soon as there was no more doubt to be made of our misfortunes in *England*, Sir *Robert Walsh* was set at liberty, and tramples the streets in his coach with great magnificence; sends messages and letters to me and Mr. *Fox*, stops his coach frequently about the gates, and in all places behaves himself according to his usual temper and spirit. Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* and I thought it necessary to send Sir *H. de Vic* to the M. of *Caracena*, to let him know, that when Don *Alonzo de Cardenas* informed his Majesty of the resolution that was taken to set Sir *R. Walsh* at liberty, he likewise told him, that he should be banished out of these countries, and therefore that it was wondered at that he had the liberty to live in this town, since there was evidence sufficient that he was a spy of the rebels: and the truth is, he doth every week send intelligence to them. All the answer the M. of *Caracena* made was, that he would speak with Don *Alonzo de Cardenas* of it. I cannot choose but tell you, that if his Majesty forbears to complain of his usage in this particular of Sir *R. Walsh*, he will (I think) be much to blame; for I believe there hath never been the like disrespect offered to any Prince in the case of his own subject, and for which no excuse can be made, and in which his Majesty's honour is very much concerned.

I suppose my Lord *Mordant* is with you by this time, and I am sure you will make very much of him, as in truth he very well deserves, having behaved himself with great courage and integrity, and having without doubt, in spite of all the malice and envy of fond-men, a very good interest in many

A.D. 1659 worthy persons, and a full understanding of the temper and disposition of the nation. Col. *Massey* is here with me and Capt. *Titus* at *Breda*, to both whom the King should be kind, for they deserve it. If I once could hear where you were, and what you intend to do, I should recommend many particulars to you. I pray let me now recommend myself to your care, and assure me that your kindness is not diminished towards me. God keep you, and bring us well together.

Every body thinks the King hath been very long without a Chaplain, and hopes he will speedily send for one.

Brussels, Oct. 18. 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

YOU may easily believe it is a great mortification to me, that I hear no word from you since that of the 22d from *Rochelle*, and a greater, that I perceive by letters from *Bayonne* of the 7th, that there was no news of you then in those parts. I shall now entertain you with Mr. *Page's* observations in *Ireland*, and the information he brings from thence. The King was so near being possessed of that kingdom, that *Mark Trevor* came one night to your wife, and told her all was done; *Harry Cromwell* having then promised him that he would declare, and the City of *Dublin* having undertaken to stand to him, and my Lord of *Ardee's* having undertaken to draw 20000 men together in the North; so that in truth there could have been no resistance made. But that wretched fellow had no courage, and the very next day upon the receipt of letters from *England*, his spirits failed him and he behaved himself as you have heard; and how far he

he hath discovered his evil Counsellors is not known. *A.D. 1659*
 But *Mark Trevor* is generally look'd upon with great jealousy as the chief, though he doth not hear that he is called in question. You have so many good friends in the city of *Dublin*, that they complained there were no Commissions sent over, or any persons appointed to command them: which if they had, they could easily have seized upon the castle of *Dublin*, which I do not see we have any great reason to wish they had done. Indeed the affection of the city is so signal to you and your family, that he says, when your wife's cause was heard, the whole city shut up their shop windows and crouded thither: and when the sentence was pronounced for her, they made extraordinary shouts and went all to the Tavern to express their joy. There is nothing like a good opinion of my Lord *Brougbill*, and yet it is wished upon any occasion he might receive fair treatment: his obligations and civilities to your family have been very extraordinary, as likewise hath been my Lady *Ranelagh's*, to whose interest with the present Governors, the preservation of the fortune is much to be imputed, and the protection that is now enjoyed.

He staid not long enough to make any great observation in *England*; but found that the Priests were very angry, and complained much that Sir *George Bootbe* refused to admit any Catholics to bear arms under him. I do not hear that they were forward to appear in other places where they wanted not invitation. He says, he was told by an antient grave person of good affection to the King, that his Majesty had never an honest man about him but the good Secretary. So you see we have many good offices done us; yet I am confident, they who endeavour to lessen other men's reputations, do not at all labour to advance his: and I hope it is but one Doctor's opinion.

A.D. 1659

I must not conclude this dispatch without telling you, that I have this week received a letter from your host of the Garter, to whom many of our friends owe their preservation. He tells me, none of them shall suffer; that the army will very shortly dissolve the Parliament, and then that their purpose is to choose forty honest men who shall govern the three Kingdoms and be always chosen by them: but that *Lambert* intends to make himself Protector, and that many there believe he intends well to the King; of which he desires to be advertised from me. He says likewise, that *Rookewood* hath played the Devil, and betrayed all persons who have trusted him; and now is dispatched to *Bayonne*. If that be so, he will be with *Peter Talbot*; at least he will know where he is: and if you do not cause him to be sent to his Monastery, you are much to blame. Though 26 days have now passed since poor *Newbrugh* fell sick, I cannot tell you he is past all danger; therefore you shall do well to prepare the King, (if he should miscarry) to bestow that regiment on Sir G. Hamilton.

Be as angry as you will at the length of my letters, I cannot make them shorter and say all to you that I think necessary. I pray tell me, that you are as kind to me as ever; which will be welcome news. God keep you.

Brussels, O^r. 25, 1659.

Lord Mordant to the King.

S I R,

BY Mr. *Armorer* I could only advertise your Majesty of the certainty of the breach; by the post which past from *Calais* next day I added some few particulars. I shall now give your Majesty

jesty a fuller relation, that I may satisfy both your Majesty's curiosity and acquit myself of my own duty. A.D. 1659

The House being alarmed at a speech *Lambert* made at *Derby*, as he was returning from his innocent victory; and jealous the lenity he used in those parts was artifice, resolved to reduce his power, and leave no hopes to his ambition, that might reasonably persuade him to pretend to more than a single Regiment. They took this course; in the first place, *Fleetwood* was prevailed with to be satisfied, that the supreme power of the army should reside in the House; then they appoint the Speaker General, from whose hands every one, who was like to continue in trust, was to receive his commission. The preamble to this was an oath, which I conclude your Majesty has seen; power and profit soon prevailed over those who never had a true sense either of honour or conscience, and most gave so great testimonies of their affection and submission to the Parliament, that of the most prudent judges of business there was scarce any but Mr. *Harlow* imagin'd either *Lambert's* courage or interest sufficient to induce any considerable part of the army to throw down an Idol they had so superstitiously adored.

But, Sir, before I enter upon matter of fact, I am not to omit what inducements these sheepish Parliament men had to involve themselves in so senseless and violent a proceeding against *Lambert* and his adherents. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* had still a close correspondency with *Monck*, and by Mr. *Scott's* means came to know of some addresses *Lambert* with some others of the army made to him. To render these ineffectual, he writes to *Monck* with the highest confidence imaginable, and magnifies the Parliament's power, their unity and wisdom;

to this: the design having taken,

W.D.1659 whether by the credulity or consent of *Monck*, it was made publick, which so swelled *Haslerig*, that wherever he came he decried and menaced the army party. By his violence the more active part of the House willingly enough joined in these precipitate courses against the army; yet that which hastened the breach, was an intent to have seized *Lambert* and executed him, which they believed they had plausible reasons for. This, I am told, was discovered by one of the cabal, who by a note gave *Lambert* this seasonable advertisement; *Secure yourself or to-morrow before this time your head will be in danger.* On the 11th of *October* came another letter from *Monck* to the Parliament, wherein he declared so fully to assert their authority to his utmost, that few of the Members questioned their firm establishment. To this, *Ludlow* was supposed to have settled *Ireland* so well to their purpose, that the Wednesday evening the Hall at *Westminster* throng'd with the Officers of the republick party, and that day those exasperating votes passed. Hearing *Lambert* was stirring, and earnest with some of the Officers, they began to mistrust he would stand on his defence. Immediately Colonel *Morley's* regiment, *Okey's* and *Evelin's* with the Life-Guards, was commanded to draw up. These possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, the Abby Church, and *Westminster-Hall*. *Lambert* advertised of this, was sufficiently perplexed: but 'twas too late to look back, and as I am from very good hands assured, that through the greatest difficulty imaginable he got his regiment together, the Lieutenant-Colonel being extreamly averse to his proceeding; which done by *Duckenfield's* advice, he marched through the town, still gathering strength, till he got between two or three thousand foot in a body. With these he marched till he came within the *Palace-Yard*; there *Morley* met him and bid him stand,

stand. *Morley* had a pistol in his hand, and *Lambert* ^{A.D. 1639} going on as if he intended to have gone into the Hall, *Morley* swore if he stirred a foot farther he would shoot him. To this he answered, Colonel *Morley* I will go another way, though if I please, I could pass this. He faced about and marched into the old *Palace-Yard*, and drew up his foot there; here the soldiers that were posted upon old *Palace Stairs*, hooted at him. This enraged him so that he walked on apace to engage them, which *Duckenfield* perceiving, stayed him a while by force. Fury unhappily here gave way to reason, and the heat over, he gave orders for the drawing up the rest of his forces he believed sure to him in *Kings-street*, the *Mews*, and *Scotland-Yard*. On the other side, the Parliament send orders to Colonel *Tompson* to draw up his regiment, which was done in a place they call the *Park* in *St. George's fields*. *Baines* who commanded the regiment did it willingly, though his Colonel absented himself. To encounter these, *Lambert* immediately sends two troops of horse, two troops of dragoons, and Sir *Henry Vane's* new listed regiment of Anabaptists, of which only four companies appeared. This body drew up so near, that some contests grew between them, viewing each other's body, the Presbyterian regiment which they call *Tompson's*, believing an engagement could not be shunned, sent to the *Tower* for more ball. This gave so great an alarm, that Serjeant *Dandy* came to *Baines* with a verbal order to draw off; he refused unless he had it in writing, or till the other drew off first. This gave the time to that crafty proposition of *Lambert's*, that for that time, both parties should retire to their quarters: Colonel *Hacker* in this hurry inclined to the Parliament, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* refused to receive any of *Lambert's*, for the Mayor had orders to raise the *Militia*, but that dull body

A.D. 1659 had no spirit. Thus, Sir, with vast expectations that mother *Skipton's* prophesy was fulfilling, and a general consternation the 13th of *October* ended. That night your Majesty will believe *Lambert* slept but little, and indeed he had much to do; which task he acquitted himself so well of, that 'tis now disputable whether the Parliament or Army have the better of the staff. I had been upon the place but for the embargo which stayed my letters, and I should never be at ease, if by any neglect or omitting I had deferred my journey. If it had pleased God I had received those letters by an express, it is possible your Majesty might have had another account. The 14th, the suspension of those Officers followed who appeared too hearty for one of the old causes, and the soldiers were made believe it was their interest to unite. What is the present state of affairs no flesh can possibly say, the succeeding day destroying the resolutions of the former. Yet Sir, this is what I have from one was of the Council. To the 23 of the Council of safety, four more are added; these are the Committee of Inspection. These 27 shall choose 70; these shall be called a Senate; these 70 shall elect 4000; these shall have the appellation of the Great Council, and shall enact laws and raise monies. The army are to present these to the 70, and they are such as shall swear to live and die with this constitution. They pretend to raise 30000 men, and keep them in constant pay in the three Nations, whereof 8000 horse; to choose a Militia of the same number of godly and well affected people to be ready upon occasion, and as any of the standing army die, they are to be supplied out of this Militia. There are discourses of other models of government, but none so likely to be pursued as this.

Your Majesty will receive constant accounts of the preparations and offers, (of these faithful servants

vants your Majesty hath here) of those of your ^{A.D. 1659} party who are forward and willing to run any risk on the least summons from your Majesty: and indeed Sir, tho' I came too late to serve you, as to engaging them in a war amongst themselves, yet I find so general a propension in all I speak with, to run your fortune, that with God's blessing I doubt not but in a short time I shall be able to give your Majesty such an account from hence as will please you. I have just now spoke with a serious person that assures me, *Lambert* is resolved to quit himself of *Fleetwood*; which he designs by employing others to persuade him to restore *Cromwell*. Some overtures have already been made in order to this, and *Desbrough* seems to join in it. If this take not, force shall. He likewise gives all manner of liberty to the Fifth-monarchy-men, that for the present he may render them useful to himself; and when he is better settled, that he may appear a deliverer of his country, he will suppress their extravagance, which is very high; and then if he can reconcile the Gentry, he will have compassed his desire. By one was with him this morning I hear, he says the Gentry of our party are so addicted to their pleasures and ease, he esteems their interest inconsiderable; but my opinion is clear, that were your Majesty here or near *England*, either he or *Fleetwood* would treat with you. *Monck* hath certainly clapped up Colonel *Cobbet* and 17 other Officers, and they say, is preparing to come into *England*; pray God your Majesty may be so near as timely to transport yourself before it comes to a blow; for if the Parliament be re-established we are all utterly ruined. Sir, my Lord Chancellor's last hath put us in the same apprehensions of your Majesty's health, but we hope it is but surmise; which notwithstanding will make us doubt our prayers, as is the duty of your Majesty's faithful subjects, in particular

mine

A.D. 1659 mine who am by all ties imaginable obliged to
 be, Sir,

London, O^r. 27,
 1659.

*Your Majesty's most loyal and most
 obedient Subject and Servant.*

If your Majesty please to command Mr. *Armorer*
 hither, I humbly conceive he may be useful.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

BEFORE I say any thing to yours of the 12th
 from *Tboulouse*, I am not afraid to tell you one
 apprehension I have, knowing very well the in-
 dustry of your nature, that when you come to the
 place where so many of my letters are, and you
 find such volumes in cypher, you will conclude
 that my notions in *September* are not very appli-
 cable to your counsels in *November*, and so throw
 them into some neglected corner, if they escape the
 fire. But let me desire you to take care that they
 be all decyphered; for I am very much deceived,
 if I have not in every one of them said somewhat
 to you, either with reference to the publick, or to
 your own domestick affairs, that is very necessary
 for you to know.

Your letter hath given me great ease in two par-
 ticulars, which tormented me exceedingly. The
 first, the fear of the King's health; for knowing
 well the appetite he had to be with all possible speed
 at the conference, I was not wise enough to com-
 prehend any other ground of the delay. The o-
 ther, of his going by sea, to which I knew him to
 be too much inclined; and I thank God and the
 wind that he was disappointed in that inclination,
 since

since that hazard is never to be run by him or any *A.D. 1659* King, when he can as well (*i. e.* with the expence of four or five days) do the same business. It is to no purpose to tell you, because by this time the mischief is prevented, or else remediless, that tho' you have freed me from those fears, you have enough perplexed me with the apprehension of the King's going into *Spain*, without benefiting himself with the friendship of the two Ministers; to which he must entirely resort, when he hath done any thing else, and possibly may not find them the more propitious for having done any thing else. And in this particular my good Lord *Bristol* (who is not thought to do any thing by chance) bears the full weight, as if the design were to make Don *John of Austria* the instrument of doing the King of *England*'s business, without the administration of Don *Louis de Haro*. But as I am sure the ground of the journey to *Saragosa* was the opinion that Don *Louis* was returned to *Madrid*, so I cannot but hope that before we pass the *Pyrenees*, he was informed, that the Ministers were not parted: and then it may be his Majesty came to them in the very conjuncture that was to be wished.

I find the full measure of your spleen throughout your letter, both with reference to the publick, and your own domestick: and I cannot enough wonder that Mr. *Oneile* had not so good intelligence at *Bourdeaux* as to free you in a great measure, at least from the former apprehension. And if you had taken care, either at *Paris*, or by leaving orders in the places you left behind you, that our letters might have found you, you would have received ease in both particulars. God be thanked, we have not a friend in *England* less than when we parted, tho' many of them are in restraint, and for the affairs of your family, they are I think in the condition you do for the present with them. The marriage
(of

A.D. 1659 (of Lord *Ossory*) will be done about the 13th or 14th of this month, and my Lord *Richard* is gone this day towards the *Bosse*. Your nephew *James* (*Hamilton*) is gone likewise to the wedding, and is a very honest, and I think a very pious young man, and will proceed with that wariness that you advise, tho' in the main he is fully resolved, and truly, I think, upon right principles, severed from passion or appetite.

I cannot think of adding any thing more concerning your own particular: and I will say but a word with reference to the publick. Our friends in *England* are very desirous to know whether they may depend upon any enterprize this winter, that they may provide accordingly: and in that case they promise very much, and they who are in prison would not think of making any composition, to which they are much pressed. I hope the King, finds that disposition and resolution in the two Ministers, that this winter, which is the just season, will not be lost: however I beseech you let no encouragement be given, or connivance, by the King upon any overtures which shall be made for liberty of compounding. For besides that we have experience enough how indisposed most compounders have been to new adventures, we may be very confident that no man shall be now suffered to compound without all the extravagant oaths of abjuration that can be imagined. And for my part, I have never yet found, that any premeditated violation of conscience, with what pretences and resolutions soever, hath ever been attended with a continuance of those resolutions, or that such men have ever afterwards been forward to observe the obligations of conscience. Therefore I wish that if any applications of that kind be made to the King, he would decline giving his approbation or consent. In a word, all things stand very well disposed in *England*,

land, and our friends as able, and (it may be) better *A.D. 1659* resolved to do their parts than ever; and therefore I hope you will value that interest accordingly.

Since I writ thus far, and our *English* letters not being come, *Charles* is arrived from *Calais* with the news that the Parliament is dissolved by *Lambert*, who yet is not possessed entirely of the Army: and surely there are some considerable Officers, as *Fleetwood*, *Haselrig*, *Ludlow*, and some others, who will never submit to him; and yet I fear his power will be too great. In the mean time it is a new change; so the two Ministers will be more encouraged than ever to prosecute any good purposes they have to the King. My Lord *Mordant* is already gone for *England* upon the first news, to put our friends in a readiness, and hath sent very earnestly to the Duke of *York* to procure as good a body of men as he can: which no doubt his Highness will intend; but there is no doubt these Ministers here will do little, except they receive orders from *Spain*, or except some such notable advantage appear for us in *England*, as the possession of some places where we may disembark; and I doubt our friends will hardly be in that condition to do so much of themselves. The dissolution of the Parliament was on Thursday was sevennight, since which time no packets have come over: but I suppose our friends will devise some way to give us as frequent advertisements as is possible; and I cannot doubt but the King will do all that is in his power to return towards these parts, as may be and with all the advantage that is possible.

I must not omit to tell you, that *Schomberg* writes me word, that he was in *Dunkirk* when the letters arrived from *England* of what was done, and the officers there resolved to join with the army. He says, We have many good friends in that garrison, and that one very full of affection to the King told him,

A.D. 1659 him, that it was reported and believed there, that the two Crowns had resolved to assist the King, upon his promise to establish the Catholick Religion; which report (he said) did the King very great prejudice, and that it is industriously spread abroad. God keep you, and bring us well and quickly together; and it is great pity but it should be quickly.

Brussels, Nov. 1, 1659.

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

YOURS from this place of the 12th of the last, after having travelled to *Paris*, is come back hither to me. I hope those I have since wrote to you are likewise now in your hands: upon which presumption, I will not trouble you with the repetition of what they contained; only this in general I think necessary to say, lest they should have missed you, that things with us are in the same state again, they were in at your parting from *Paris*; I mean in regard of the good understanding between the King and the Queen; which was judged by you and others so fit to be laboured in: and therefore I shall esteem that matter to be proceeded in as upon that foot, and say nothing more of it at present. I have less delight in the account of the rest I have to entertain you with.

As soon as I received your letter from *Roehelle*, I was very easily won to your opinion, that it was necessary the Queen should send somebody to the Cardinal in the behalf of the King's business; and the Queen entering into the consideration thereof, resolved presently to command Mr. *Montague* and myself to attend him. He had though by several letters recommended to her not to press him un-

2

seasonably:

seasonably : but because we had no apprehensions *A.D. 1659*
the conferences could have been extended to this length, and that no time might be lost on our parts, she made us come away before the certainty of their ending. Hearing by the way that they continued, we lingered as long as we could, and spent a week or ten days upon the way more than we needed. Notwithstanding, we are here arrived too soon, knowing certainly that if we should go to him, we should be very unwelcome ; and almost as certainly that he would not yet enter at all into the subject of that, for which only it could be to no purpose to seek him where he is. Therefore we have chosen to stay here for him, at least till we hear from thence in answer to the advice we have given of our being come hither, and the course we have taken to be informed whether we shall expect him here or go to him. It is a melancholy circumstance, that in order to the point of speaking to him only of our affairs, there should intervene considerations that should prevail with him, even to the disclosing of his inclinations to avoid it ; but it is for the present the case. I wish earnestly it were not so ; but 'tis not to be helped : nor in my judgment, even as ill as it looks, our measures are not absolutely to be taken thereupon. We must see the Peace signed, and hear him speak after the signature ; if then we find place for no better hopes, I shall say no more : but till then I cannot part with mine. This is all I have to say.

If this find you at *Fontarabia*, we are in the tract of quick and safe intercourse. I shall therefore expect to hear from you, and long impatiently for the account of the King's reception. All the letters you send to the *Commandeur de Souvre* will come safe to me. You shall hear regularly from me. The English post of the last week was robbed, and his letters scattered in the highways ; so that it is
not

A.D. 1659 not known what he brought. Those of the week before give an account of a very unquiet condition of things.

Toulouse, Nov. 3, 1659.

Dr. Barwick to the King.

BY my dispatch of *Oct.* 25. I gave you an account of what passed before that time : and by what your Majesty will now receive from Lord *Mordant*, I may spare you the trouble of reading any more than what followeth. The business between *Monck* and *Lambert* is not likely to be composed ; and of the two the latter is thought the likeliest to take in your interest : and nothing will be left unattempted to induce him to it, that can be thought of ; tho' it is very likely nothing but 538 will do any good upon either of them. As for *Monck*, it is thought he drives an underhand interest with the rigid Presbyterians, and that the design is to reduce all things to the same state they were left in at the *Isle of Wight* Treaty. And tho' we do not despair but that this may do the work in time, yet it is hard to be put to play an after-game : and the greatest mischief is, that those who were formerly deceived by Sir *R. Willis* give all the encouragement they can ; whereas by the same breath they might as easily bring them up to us, as take us down to them. It is to be feared, that the *Dunkirk* regiment, of which I formerly gave you an account, must now march, or shift quarters at least. We have but three regiments of foot left here, which belong to *G. Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Moss*. If any diversion can be made in the West, Major General *Desborow* must march with most of these ;
and

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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and then to land some considerable forces in *Kent* or *Norfolk*, would, as it is hoped, bring in the city. We have a promise, from one that in probability may be able to make it good, of 500 horse to be bought off from the army (if we be able to go thro' with it) for your Majesty's service. At this time the city begins to be in some jealousy, the militia-men would arm the Anabaptists: which the Grandees will not yet give way to. I remain, &c.

London, Nov. 3, 1659.

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Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

I HAVE yours of the 16th from *Tboulouse*, which hath taken away all my hopes of the King's being at the frontiers, and so satisfying the expectation of the two Ministers, which it seems they so much depended upon. I do the best I can to persuade myself and others, that there may have been good reason for doing that which we do not understand, and I hope God Almighty will prevent the inconveniences which may naturally proceed from thence. Yet I should be very glad that you would condescend so far as to enable me to give some satisfaction to those friends who are really and heartily grieved for him, and amongst those none seem more unsatisfied than the Prince of *Condé* and *M. Marckin*, who do apprehend great prejudice by it: but I hope you have in some degree satisfied the two Ministers, and I do not absolutely despair but the King might again cross the *Pyrenees* from *Saragosa*, and be with them before they parted. I am very glad the King himself thought of sending for Mr. *Hawles*, for indeed it is too long that he hath been without any exercise of his devotions, and of which

A.D. 1659 there is too much notice taken. But I hope he will not stay so long in *Spain* as to send for any body to come thither to him, but that he will find great reason to draw speedily towards these parts, where, in all probability, his presence will be very necessary, and is exceedingly longed for already.

I can, as upon my own knowledge, add nothing concerning the affairs of *England* to what I writ in my last, which was no more, or it may be not so much as you received from *Nic. Armorer*; for this is the second week that we have now received no letters from *England*, nor have the packet boats, which have been sent from *Ostend*, been suffered to go to *Dover*, but have been sent back by the ships in the *Downs* to *Ostend*, where there are now three weeks packets of these countries together. All that we know is from *Dunkirk*, where they say that the confusions in *England* are extraordinary great, and such as must involve the nation in a new and bloody war.

I send you inclosed a copy of what the Duke of *York* hath written into *England* to my Lord *Mordant*, in answer to his desire that his Royal Highness would be ready to come over upon the first invitation with 4000 men; and it would be very necessary that you procured orders to be sent to these Ministers to cherish and increase the King's own troops. But if money be not sent as well as orders, little will be done, tho' truly there is probability enough that such advantages may be offered in *England* as may be very worthy suddenly to be embraced. I have told Sir *H. Bennet* in what state our money business stands, and I must beseech you to give some life to it. The expence continues by the Duke's being here, who orders Mr. *Fox* to provide for them, and Sir *John Berkeley* will not believe but there is money enough, and complains that the Duke of *York* reimbursed the money he laid out for

for his journey to *Calais*. I am sure we are all *A.D. 1659* without a dollar, and have been long: and they who have neither money nor credit are like to keep a very cold *Christmas*; which must be our case, if we do not hear from you before that time.

I suppose the two Dukes will go the next week to *Breda*, because the Princess Royal comes then thither. I hear Sir *Robert Walsh* is printing a declaration against you, the Earl of *Bristol* and me: and the Jesuits report that the two favourites will do nothing for the King, except Sir *E. Hyde* be removed. I hope you will find more favour in their eyes. On Tuesday next Lord *Offory* will be married at the *Busse*, where I assure you I would be a witness, if I were not banished those dominions. I pray let me know when I shall see you, and till then keep me in your Master's memory. I hear there will be endeavour to get the King to send *Tom. Talbot* to his charge in the Army, who hath done all he can to engage the Officers of the Army in a seditious address concerning the affairs of *Ireland*; in which he hath been disappointed by your nephew *Muskery, Will. Bourke*, and most of the rest. Therefore I pray let no importunity prevail with the King to consent to a thing so dishonourable to him, and scandalous in itself. I can add no more but what you know that I am, if any thing,

Brussels, Nov. 8, 1659.

Yours, &c.

Extract of the Duke of York's Letter to Lord Mordant, sent by Mr. Charles Littleton, Nov. 5, 1659.

YOU and our friends there may be confident that I will make the best preparations I can to take advantage of any good opportunity that shall be offered:

A.D. 1659 offered: and therefore I shall desire to hear as frequently and particularly from you and the rest of our friends as is possible; what present benefit we have received already by this change in the liberty of any of our friends, or in any other way; who are the principal persons in power, and whether any of them are to be wrought on; whether the army be entire and united to all purposes, and what alterations there are in officers and commanders of towns and forts, or in the army since the change; or whether the same persons still continue in the same places. In a word, what I depend upon, that our friends there can and will do, and what they will expect from me, who they may be assured will venture myself with the same readiness and alacrity as if the King were there, having authority from his Majesty so to do. It will not be, I think, difficult for me to get such a number of men in readiness as you propose: but then you know the procuring vessels to transport them, a quantity of spare arms and ammunition, and other necessary provisions, doth so absolutely depend upon the Ministers here, that without their entire concurrence, and full assistance, all the preparations I can make will little advantage the work. You may be sure I do all that is in my power to promote the business with them, who give me as civil answers, as the generals I propose to them can require: but I must tell you, they know well the good intentions both the Crowns have to the King, which by his personal sollicitation will, I doubt not, be rendered effectual as soon as is possible: and therefore if after this great change they shall see no other alteration to the King's benefit, but the army's being entirely subject to one man, instead of their unsteady dependance upon the Parliament; and that this mutation is attended with a general calm, all that I can say or promise to them upon a general secret good disposition towards the King,

King, will not, I fear, prevail with them to be engaged in any action without full directions from their Masters, nor will they believe such preparations as you mention to be equal to such an enterprize as must begin the work, which they do believe harder than no doubt it is. But if they shall see any maritime place in our power, where we may disembark, or any defection in the navy, that we may serve ourselves of those vessels, I do not question but upon such a stock of reputation I shall persuade them to any thing I can reasonably desire without expecting directions from their superiors. I have thought it necessary to give you this true state of the temper and affairs here, as they seem to me; but you may be confident I will do any thing to improve them, and good accidents there will insensibly bring it to pass; therefore I must still call upon you for frequent and full advertisements, and any other assistance it may be in our friends power to give us.

A.D. 1659

The Earl of Bristol to the Prince of Condé.

Monseigneur,

LA paix & les articles de mariage ayant esté signée par les deux Ministres le septiesme du courant, M. le Cardinal s'est depuis relasché un peu en sa fierté pour ce qui regarde le Roy mon Seigneur. Il a donné audience a M. le Marquis d'Ormonde de sa part hier un peu avant la conference de l'Adieu; & aujourd'hui il a envoyé M. de Lyonne complimenter sa Majesté, et consent a une entrevue avec elle aupres d'Ax, lorsque sa Majesté reprendra son chemin par la France pour s'en retourner en Flandres. Il ne se decouvre pas d'avantage; mais les approches nous donnent lieu, au

A.D. 1659 moins de nous entretenir de quelques bonnes esperances. *Hagase el melagro y bagale Maboma.*

Pour moy, je n'auray pas l'honneur d'accompagner sa M. dans le voyage; M. le Cardinal s'estant si avant declaré contre moi par M. le Commandeur de Souveray, que je croy le devoir au service du Roy mon maistre de ne pas presenter un visage si desagreable au Ministre, de qui il semble que ses interests dependent si fort. Je m'en iray premierement à Madrid, delà à Rome, & retourneray Dieu aydant en Flandres par la voye d'Italie: & en quelque lieu du monde que je sois V. A. y aura une personne qui luy est tout à fait acquise, qui esperera vous voir dans l'estat que vostre qualité & haulte vertu merite, & que vous aurez la bonté de vous souvenir quelquefois d'un inutile qui s'est voué avec tant de passion & de gratitude,

Monseigneur,

Fonjrabie, Nov. 12, 1659.

de V. A.

le tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur,

BRISTOL.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Mordant.

My Lord,

I Received yours of *October* 28th yesterday: and I shall recommend this answer to your Lady's care to be sent you, when she shall judge it seasonable. If I had written to you sooner than now, I should not have been able to have told you, as now I can, with reasonable certainty, that the King will within these three days be drawing towards *Flanders*,
and

and will keep himself at a distance, and (as far as *A.D. 1659* he is able) in a condition to make use of any favourable accident in *England*. I have had the honour from the King to wait upon the Cardinal, and was received with that affability and civility, which is natural to him and due to my Master. But I dare not presume to make any judgment to you of his purposes towards his Majesty from that introduction, as I hope, to effectual advantages. I shall only tell you in general, that the expectation we have of considerable succours from abroad are so well founded, that our friends ought not to be dejected, nor negligent in preparing themselves to receive them; so they do it with that temper and wariness that is requisite.

You may be sure, that our impatience to be at more certainty is as great as yours there: but our condition forces us to go the pace of others, who take not those uneasinesses we feel. An apparent opportunity would quicken them: but that is not therefore to be precipitately sought; every miscarriage losing us more ground than much time can recover. As we draw nearer to you, you may hear more often and more certainly from us; for you are to account that the conclusion of the Treaty here concludes not but rather begins our negotiation. I should speak something plainer to you if I were able to make use of your Cypher: but since I hope it will not be long before I shall be able to encounter you again and with more satisfaction, I forbear it now.

Fontarabia, Nov. 13, 1659.

A.D. 1659

*Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.**My Lord,*

THE occasion of my writing to you is to let you know, that there is a report so hot of your Master's being turned Papist, that unless it be suddenly contradicted and the world disabused by something coming expressly from him, it is likely in this extraordinary conjuncture to do him very great injury amongst his friends both in city and country; in both which his constancy all this while hath rendered him many considerable Profelytes. I beseech you therefore, as soon as this arrives, use your earnest endeavours to cause the mistake to be rectified. I am told, some do intend very shortly to publish how he hath renounced his Religion, put away from him his Protestant Council, and only embraced Romanists. Favour me with the truth of these particulars, and it shall be my care to take order to stay this calumny till our Master can do it more authentically. Do not condemn my advice; but know that if it were not highly necessary, I should not have adventured to give you this trouble. Your Master is utterly ruined (as to his interest here in whatever party) if this be true; though he never had a fairer game than at present; and 'tis his stability in that point that gains daily.

We are in the height of all confusion and misery: nothing is certain; every moment produceth new changes. Oh! that some person of honour might be sent to demand your Master's restitution in this conjuncture.

*London, Nov. 18, 1659.**Sir*

A.D. 1659

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

THIS last post from *England* hath brought us all the letters of three weeks; besides we have an exprefs from my Lord *Mordant*: and I have very punctual and particular advices and information from *James Herbert*, who deserves marvellously well. I think it will be best to give you an account of all the progress towards this change from the beginning, that you may the better judge what issue it may be like to have. *Hasslerig* hath had so great an animosity against *Lambert*, that he moved in the House, that *Lambert* might be sent to the Tower for having corresponded with Sir *Geo. Bootbe*. To which *Whitelock* answered, that it would appear a very ridiculous thing to the world, that they should condemn a person for corresponding with *Bootbe*, who had beaten and destroyed him, and without whom they could not have been then consulting together. Upon which that fierce motion was declined: but a more sober man stood up, and said he must move the same thing, though not upon the same ground; that it was very evident what service soever he had done, he did endeavour to get an interest in the army to the prejudice of the Parliament; that he infused sedition into them, and that if they did not secure him from doing them hurt, they should not be long suffered to sit together. This motion had so much concurrence, that after a long debate *Lambert* was preserved from the Tower but by three voices: which incensed him enough and made him the more bestir himself with the Officers. This being again complained of, he and the other Officers (whom I have mentioned in another letter) were cashiered by them: and then the next day the Parliament was dissolved, those

A.D. 1659 those regiments who had declared themselves for them, falling away by degrees, and the city declaring itself to be neutral, and helping neither the one nor the other. All that they have done towards a settlement from the 14th to the 28th, is to choose a Council of 23, most of the Fifth-monarchy men who must govern the three nations, and make and alter and abolish laws as they please. In the mean time, *Monck* hath imprisoned Colonel *Cobbet* (who was sent to him from the army) and seventeen other Officers who were attempting to corrupt his troops. He hath declared against the proceedings of the army, and hath already possessed himself of *Berwick*, into which he hath put a strong garrison, and all this to restore the Parliament. *Overton* who is in *Hull* makes the same declaration, and it is very probable, if Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* power be absolute in *Tynmouth*, that place will be of the same mind; as they say many other places in *England* are. I must not forget to tell you, that when the soldiers stop'd the Speaker in his passage to the House, he asked them, if they knew what they did; that he was their Leader and ought to be obeyed by them. To which they answered, that they knew no such thing; that if he had marched before them over *Warrington-bridge*, they should have known him. In the end *Lambert* came to him, and after some sturdy discourse of the Speaker, took away the Mace from him, told him, he was an impertinent fellow, and bid him go home about his own business: which the Speaker obeyed; and there's an end of your Parliament, except *Monck* restore it, which I believe he will find very difficult to do.

My Lord *Mordant* is full of spirit, and thinks it high time, that the Duke of *York* were himself with them in person: which without doubt is not reasonable counsel. I sent to you in my last, the
copy

copy of what his Highness had then writ to him; *A.D. 1659*
 and I now send you what he writes to him again this day by his express: by which you will see the sense we have here of the business, from which (I believe) we shall not vary without extraordinary accidents to justify it. But I must tell you, it is all our wish, and the opinion of all our friends in *England*, and particularly *James Herbert's*, who hath great authority with me, that the King's presence should be nearer home as soon as is possible. He bids me be confident that whatever *Lambert's* ambition is, the Colonels and inferior Officers who join with him against the Parliament, are so jealous of him and watch him so narrowly, that they will never endure him or any other man to set up for himself: which I am not sorry for, and it may possibly make him bethink himself of what is fit for him to do. He said, as soon as he heard of *Monck's* possessing himself of *Berwick*, that whatever he said of the Parliament, he was confident he would declare for the King; and truly, I do hope very soon to receive some good assurance of *Monck*; for I am assured he did promise when *Booth* was up, that he would do nothing against the King; which was too great a step for a wise man to make who intended to go no farther.

There is a discourse in *England*, as if both he and *Lambert* had sent over expressly to the King to treat with him; which you know best, and how to behave yourselves towards them. I have been so extremely busy in making dispatches for *England* to keep our friends from being rash, and if I could get money (which we are absolutely without) I would presently send away *Titus* to that purpose, that I must omit the account of many particulars, as well relating to the publick as to your own particular, which I shall supply by the next; and say no more now than that the wedding is deferred

A.D. 1659 till the next week. God keep you. I pray keep yourself still with the King without any more progress.

I am sure I have forgot somewhat of moment, which you shall have by the next; and I expect a very large letter from you by the next; it is no matter in whose hand, if it be not worse than this. Somewhat should be said concerning Mr. *Rosse*.

Brussels, Nov. 15, 1659.

The inclosed Extract of the Duke of York's Letter to Lord Mordant. Nov. 15, 1659.

I Have yours of the 27th, and I hope by this time you have received mine by *Cba. Littleton*: To which I can add little concerning any advance here; the Ministers continuing still of the same temper they were then. I see the affairs there grow every day more hopeful and like to administer more advantages to the King's service than yet appear: and you may be confident, I will put myself into the best posture I can to improve those which shall arrive. But I do not think you wish me there with no other advantage than of my own person, whilst the King being himself now at the Treaty is like in a short time to procure such an assistance and declaration from the two Crowns, as may make the work at least less difficult. If neither *Lambert* nor *Monck* discover any affection to the King's service, but purely to pursue their several interests they now own, it will surely be best for the King's friends to sit still and look on, till they are thoroughly engaged in blood, and then one or both will be induced easily to a conjunction with his Majesty. Whereas an unseasonable appearing of the Royal party before such an engagement (except they are better

better prepared for it than I can apprehend) may *A.D. 1659*
most probably unite those disagreeing parties till
they have destroyed our friends ; and then they
may more safely contend upon their own bottoms
without great advantage to the King, let the suc-
cess be what it will. But if either *Lambert* or
Monck can be induced to declare for the King, to-
wards which I presume all endeavours are used to
dispose them, I will make no scruple of finding
my own person with all possible expedition with
them who shall so declare : and more than this, I
cannot for the present say, till I receive farther ad-
vices and information from you ; only I shall tell
you, what I now write to you, is not only the sense
of all our friends here, but of all those with whom
I correspond from all places, who exceedingly ap-
prehend an unseasonable engagement of the King's
friends may unite the two parties, which seem now
ready for blows.

M. de Schomberg to the King.

Sire,

J'AY pris la liberté decrire à V. M. il y a pres-
que un mois sur le changement des affaires en
Angleterre, lesquels me paroissoient avoir un
grand penchant à de plus grandes selon les avis que
j'avois par un officier de Dunkerq qui est bien a-
verti par un ami qu'il a dans l'employ ; le mi Lord
Mordant ayant souhaité en partant d'icy, qu'icy de-
meurasse pour avertir avec plus de diligence M. de
Turenne. V. M. verra les lettres qui me sont
prendre la liberté de luy dire qu'il sera de la dernière
importance, qu'il face despecher des ordres bien ex-
pres du Roy à M. de Turenne, d'y passer dans le
pre-

A.D 1659 premier abord un corps un peu considerable; que
M. le Cardinal envoie des ordres bien expres, que
les gouverneurs de la coste depuis Dieppe jusques a
Graveline fassent assembler toutes sortes de batteaux,
& qu'ils fassent donner des munitions, armes, quel-
que canon, & force outils pour se retrencher en
debarquant. Si V. M. me juge capable de luy ren-
dre quelque service dans ces affaires, que je considere
avoir besoing d'un prompt secours, il faudroit qu'elle
me fist envoyer un ordre de son Eminence, n'en
ayant point d'autre jusques icy que de vivre dans
une grande union avec ceux de Dunkerq. Comme
je n'ay pas de passion plus forte que de luy pouvoir
faire paroistre par mes tres humbles services ce que
je luy ay protesté souvent & d'en eviter les obstacles,
je prends la liberté de dire a V. M. que je crains si
je me rencontre dans un employ avec Monseigneur
le Duc de York, je crains que M. Berkeley ne me
rende de mauvais offices pres de luy, estant assuré
que de longuemain il ne m'aime pas & que depuis
peu il l'a encore faict en presence d'un domestique
de V. M. que me l'a dict icy. Je ne luy en ay ja-
mais donné du subject. V. M. le cognoist mieux
que moy. Si V. M. se veut servir de moy, affin
que je le puisse faire utilement, il seroit a propos
qu'elle m'envoie quelque ordre de son Eminence
promptement pour soubz main faire choix de bons
officiers, & de pouvoir tirer, si on estoit pressé, des
soldats des garnisons de Graveline, Bergue & Dix-
mude, qui sont soubz mon commandement; outre
les hommes qui pourront estre destachez mon Regi-
ment qui est de mille hommes je pourrai en tirer
quatre cents, qui ne seront pas compris dans le nom-
bre. Ce peu de bien que j'ay je ne feray de diffi-
culté de les embarquer & de faire tous mes efforts
possibles de luy faire paroistre, qu'elle n'est pas
trompé dans la grace qu'elle m'a faicte il y a quel-
ques

from the Year 1641 to 1660,

271

ques années de me croire autant que personne au *A.D. 1659*
monde.

Sire, &c.

Calais, Nov. 16, 1659.

SCHOMBERG.

M. de Schomberg to the M. of Ormonde.

Monsieur,

SACHANT que ce Gentilhomme s'en va vous
trouver, j'ay jugé a propos de vous mander
mon retour icy, en cas que je puisse vous rendre
service. Je vous adresse un billet que j'ecris au
Roy : je vous prie de me faire la faveur de luy don-
ner. Je ne vous mande pas de nouvelles : vous en
scaurez d'avantage du porteur qui vient du pays.
Vous m'obligerez infiniment de m'en donner les
vostres : & si les affaires se disposent, celles d'An-
gleterre vont si juste, que je croy, qu'elles seront en
estat a unt que vous soyez prests. Mais ce qui m'a
fort ter é avant hier est, qu'en voyant *Dowre* avant
moy, estant bien averty qu'il n'y a pas un seul vais-
seau de guerre sur la coste, de n'estre pas embarqué
dans tous les petits bateaux de pecheurs avec des
troupes qu'on y passeroit sans opposition. Il faut
esperer, puisque les affaires se brouillent de plus en
plus, que l'occasion ne s'en perdra pas si tost, &
que je seray assez heureux d'en trouver une pour
vous temoigner, que je suis très parfaitement, &c,

Bergue, Janv. 4. 1660.

SCHOMBERG.

M.

M. de Schomberg to the King.

A.D. 1659

J'AY creu que V. M. trouveroit bon que je luy
 escrive par billets, & qu'elle me pardonneroit fa-
 cilement la liberté que je prends, puisqu'elle doit estre
 suffisamment persuadé que cela procede d'un cœur
 plein de respect, & fort fidel à son service; & que
 c'est pour luy donner advis de mon arrivée icy, afin
 qu'elle se serve de moy dans les choses auxquelles elle
 me jugera util. M. Lockart a renvoié les Colonels
 Lilliston & Brigge, guardant seulement Alsop. Il
 travaille fort a s'acquérir l'amitié des officiers & sol-
 dats. Il leur fist une harangue que l'Angleterre es-
 tant fort divisée, ils devoient s'apliquer d'estre bien
 unis en deçà la Mer. Mais je scay de bonne part,
 que les soldats sont fort esbranlis, & en cas que V.
 M. voye jour a faire mettre en execution les propo-
 sitions qu'on a faicts a M. Mordant, s'il y a quelque
 chose à traiter encore, je prends la liberté de dire a
 V. M. que cela se pourra plus facilement presente-
 ment, que lorsque les troupes Espagnoles seront icy.
 Mais comme Lockart a grand soin de contenter ses
 officiers & soldats, & les faire payer, ce que ne
 peut pas durer, il sera necessaire de bien prendre ses
 mesures. Ce qui m'oblige a croire que cela ne peut
 pas continuer est, que les remedes ne peuvent ve-
 nir, que lentement de Londres, ou ils remettent
 tout le monde a ce nouveau Parlement qu'ils veulent
 assembler. Il paroist que tout va de ce costé là,
 puisque Lawson a respondu aux Deputez qu'on luy
 a envoyez, qu'il iroit dans la riviere de Londres pour
 leur dire sa derniere resolution. Les deux fregattes
 qui estoient a cette rade pour les besoins de Dun-
 kerq en sont aussi partis hier pour se joindre a Law-
 son, de sorte qu'a present il n'y a pas un vaisseau
 sur tout cette Coste. Cette conjoncture seroit fort
 avan-

avantageuse & je soubhaiterois que ce temps fust pu ^{A.D. 1659} prendre pendant que je suis sur cette frontiere. J'espere que V. M. fera avister toutes les choses par le mi Lord Jermyn, & que je recevray quelque ordre de la cour de luy rendre quelque service pour le restablissement de ses royaumes. C'est le soubhait d'une personne qui aura tousjours la derniere fidelité pour son service.

Burgus, Janvier, 4, 1660.

SCHOMBERG.

M. de Schomberg to the King.

J'AY escrit avant hier a V. M. mais depuis le Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent m'ayant representé qu'hier au soir un des officiers de Dunkerq luy a faict voir, que les choses sont preparés, mesme luy ayant porté toutes les clefs pour les portes & barrieres; le chef de l'entreprise ayant ses hommes en estat d'exécuter les choses qu'il a promis a V. M. mesme apprehendant que les delais peuvent apporter du changement aux choses; mesme que Lockart pourroit avoir quelque traité avec l'Espagne ou la France. Le sieur Nugent se trouvant embarrassé ce qui doit respondre a ces gens la, j'ay cru que le plus expedient seroit de leur dire, qu'on vous enverroit un expres. Il me dit qu'il avoit faict quelques avances; mesme qu'il manquoit d'argent pour envoyer le porteur de cette a V. M. Je le luy ay donné, & m'ayant faict entendre qu'il faut quelque argent par avance aux officiers suivant le traité dont M. Mor-dant a cognoissance, quoyque j'ay peu d'argent, je feray effort d'en emprunter à Calais; & afin que cette affaire que je juge si importante pour le restablissement de V. M. dans son royaume, afin que cette affaire ne demeure, je trouveray jusques a dix

A.D. 1659 ou douze mille livres. Ce n'est pas que je doute que V. M. n'en aye suffisamment au dela, mais comme elle a bien des affaires sur les bras, & que j'apprehends que les Couronnes ne fournissent qu'avec beaucoup de lenteur les choses qui sont nécessaires, j'espère qu'elle prendra en bonne part mon zele. Si mon bien le pouvoit esgualer, elle me viroit offrir de plus grand sommes. Je souhaiterois que V. M. m'eust porté un ordre de la Cour de la servir en tout ce qu'elle m'ordonneroit; elle me viroit en cette affaire & en toutes autres, y employer ma vie avec toute la fidelité imaginable. Je la supplie tres humblement de ne pas monstrier ma lettre a personne, afin qu'on ne sache pas un jour que j'ay eu cognoissance de cette affaire. Elle cognoit nostre Cour, dans l'estat ou sont mes affaires, en seroit bien aise d'avoir ce pretexte pour se deffaire de moy sans recompence. Mais ce que je pourray faire sans esclat, a moins que V. M. la desire, je le jusques a donner des hommes des mon regiment pour les Irlandois. Cela se peut avec beaucoup de facilité, en faisant semblant de les reformer suivant l'ordre du Roy, qui est de mettre mon regiment & douze compagnies. Le moyen d'exécuter ces choses, c'est quoyque nous n'ayons pas ordre de sortir, que es troupes de V. M. s'approchent a deux lieux d'icy, comme des troupes que M. de Caracena faict avancer pour entrer icy en guarnison. L'occasion est bien plus favorable presentement que nous sommes encore icy; les officiers de Dunkerq; venants icy librement sous pretext d'acheter leurs provisions. Si elle envoie quelqu'un icy, il fault qu'il y vienne inconnu chez M. Nugent, ou je pourray luy parler. Si je pouvois exécuter l'affaire en personne, j'espérerois avec l'aide de Dieu de luy donner contentement. Je ne luy demande pas de plus grande recompence que de luy faire voir par effet, qu'elle n'a pas de serviteur plus fidel que moy. Je ne luy puis desguiser

que j'ay eu quelque desplaisir de voir que V. M. aye ^{4.D.1659} fait des graces assez considerables a des personnes qui ne sont pas de meilleure maison que moy, ny qui n'ont pas esté, ny plus long temps à la guerre, ny plus long temps officiers que moy, & qu'elle a fait M. Berkeley. Mi Lord, m'ayant fait la grace de m'en avoir donné son billet plus de huit ans devant luy. Je n'ay pas voulu l'importuner de ces choses, comme j'ay esté rendre mes devoirs & tres humbles respects a V. M: mais comme V. M. a fait quelques personnes Comtes d'Angleterre, ayant cela de ma naissance & le seul proche parent que j'aye de mon nom a la Cour de l'Empereur estant reconnu pour cela, la grace que je demanderois a V. M. c'est qu'elle me donna le brevet de Comte d'Angleterre; afin qu'apres l'avoir servy on ne passa pas en ce pais la comme un estranger. Je croy qu'elle ne doute pas, quand elle m'en aura donné le brevet, que personne du monde n'en aura cognoissance, & que bien esloigné de m'en prevaloir toute & quand elle ne jugera pas a propos, que cela soit produict au jour, la chose ne fera de rien; elle trouvera que je la puis servir par une passion fort ingenue & sans aucun but qui aille a aucun interest. Quand Dieu l'aura reestablie en son royaume, si je vois que je suis inutile a son service, je ne luy seray pas a charge, me retirant dans un petit chez moy, ou je trouveray de quoy entretenir le reste de la vie.

Je ne mande rien de particulier a M. Mordant qui a cognoissance de cette affaire, si non que M. Nugent envoyant a V. M. un expres pour l'affaire qu'il scait, je luy en ay facilité les moyens. Je croy que V. M. aura eu un expres du costé du Nort, d'ou j'apprens que les affaires s'avancent fort pour l'avantage de ses affaires. On me mande que Lambert ne voulant pas de Parlement, n'est pas bien satisfait de la resolution que Fleetwood a prise avec le Conseil d'assembler un Parlement; que cela & les avis qu'il

A.D. 1659 qu'il a de Londres que cette Ville pourroit prendre de resolutions fort prejudiciables pour ses interests, l'a faict resoudre a remarcher avec son Armée vers la ; que Moncke se preparoit de partir de Berwick pour le suivre. D'autres croyent qu'il pourroit tourner vers Portsmouth, ou il y a quelque Cavallerie de l'armée qui bloque la Ville ; que Vane y est allé ayant negocié quelque traité avec la flotte dont on attend les effets qui paroîtront dans peu de jours. Avec peu d'argent on pourroit negotier des affaires fort considerables. Lockart veille de fort pres, & donne mesme quelque payement extraordinaire aux soldats. Il m'a faict faire hier des excuses qu'il ne me venoit pas voir, mais je scay de bonne part, qu'il se mesie de ses gens, qu'il n'ose sortir, & qu'il n'est pas moins mesfiant du costé de la France. Je scay aussi qu'il y a des officiers en qui il a confiance qui soubsonnent qu'il est en traité avec Caracene. Si cela estoit, je ne trouve pas estrange que V. M. ne trouve en luy du retardement en tous ses desseins sur Dunkerq. Si V. M. se veut servir de moy dans ses affaires, dans lesquelles elle veut que je me trouve en personne, il faudroit le mander au my Lord Jermyn, affin qu'il en parle a son Eminence, pour les raisons que je luy ay desja faict cognoistre, lorsque j'eux l'honneur de la voir a Pontoise. Elle me fera grace & justice de croire qu'on ne peut pas luy estre plus fidel que je seray toute ma vie.

Bergue, Janv. 6. 1660.

SCHOMBERG.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

I AM now to give you the best account I can in answer to yours of the 2d and 3d of this month, (which came to my hands on Monday last by an express)

press) and of your other of the 9th, which came by *A.D. 1659* another express who arrived here on Tuesday, and who I wish had brought me no letters; for he does with great confidence report so many comfortable things, as that he saw himself the Cardinal give a visit to the King, names the two persons who are appointed by the two Crowns to go into *England*, and tell the people there that they are to receive their King, and many other precious particulars; which I am sorry to find were not true upon the 9th when my letters were written. Yet there is hope, that since he came not away till the 10th, being a man of honour (a Major) he may be a good Author.

It is very true that I told you, there hath no Saturday past since you left *Paris* (for before all my letters were sent to *Calais* and those parts) in which I have not written to you: and I have only two returned to me, which it seems were sent into *Britany*, one of the 6th, and the other of *Sept. 13th*, with which there were likewise letters to the King, the Earl of *Bristol* and Mr. *O Neile*. And since you acknowledge the receipt of the 20th and 27th of *Sept.* I take it as granted that all the rest are come to your hands, because they were all inclosed to Sir *H. Bennet*; who (though all have not come to him in time, by some obstructions in the way) hath I think never lost any of mine. I am very glad you find that you have suffered no real inconvenience by your late coming thither; which will make the general reproaches to be the less considered. I shall not at all be troubled at any good fortune *Peter Talbot* meets with, so he doth the King service: which it is not yet in my power to believe he can do, or would if he could. I who have no other method of judging, but by what I know men say, and what I know men do, must conclude, that whilst he hath trust and countenance he will do

A.D. 1659 hurt, and that without it he can do none: and how you can reconcile the confident letters he hath written of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s declared kindness to the King, with the coldness you there find, I cannot comprehend. I am sure his brother *Tom* does all the villanous foolish things here he can, and would set on foot all the extravagant demands, which were made by the Irish, when they were almost in a full possession of the kingdom, to be obtruded now on the King by the two Crowns: and when he is told, that it becomes not him, while he is in the King's displeasure, to meddle in any business, and that, if there were no other reason, men would not concur with him, he bids them not trouble themselves with that; does not his brother *Peter* manage all the King's affairs? I will say no more of that argument, than that we have ill luck to cast him off, when in truth he had some kind of credit with these Ministers, and to take him again, when he is utterly out of their good graces; for I have some reason to believe, that not only the M. of *Caracena*, but even Don *Alonso* himself, have signified to Don *Lewis* their extreme displeasure against him, and therefore he hath very good luck, if upon his own score he can continue his interest there.

I hope the King's dexterity and composedness (of which there is very good mention in many letters hither) hath removed the fatal misfortune, which you say follows us, of not being believed; for till the King be thought to understand his own business, and to be able to conduct it, all our striving is against the stream, and towards that good reputation, an opinion of his industry, is as necessary, as of his conception.

I doubt by the pains you take to enlarge upon it, that I have troubled you more than was necessary with the discourse of your debts; which you must impute to the peevishness I was in upon some
im-

importunate clamours, and especially upon some *A.D. 1659*
 very indecent expressions which my Lord of *Castle-*
baven used, of whom by my consent you should
 never borrow money again. As soon as Sir G.
Lane can be able to procure any thing of what is
 due to you from the M. of *Caracena*, care shall be
 taken to pay such of the debts in the first place as
 are most clamorous, and the rest as far as the money
 will go. I shall trouble you no more with Sir R.
Walsh, who since my last hath made great acknow-
 ledgments to Mr. *Belling* of being very faulty to-
 wards me, and desires my good opinion, and would
 have spoken with me: but I sent him word that I
 could have nothing to do with him, but advised
 him to be gone out of town, lest some other incon-
 venience befell him. The truth is, his residence
 here is very inconvenient, and he comes, by what
 chance I know not, to know many things, which
 he ought not to do. I forbear to say any thing of your
 Holland affair, which I conceive was concluded on
 Monday, in expectations of some letters from
 thence, upon which I may enlarge, before I finish
 this dispatch. Only I will add here, that I am
 very glad you have caused my Lady *Stanbope* to be
 writ to, to put an issue to that business. The Earl
 is at liberty, and so may proceed as he pleases: and
 I cannot but tell you that *Dick Fanshawe*, under
 whose government the other young Nobleman is,
 gives me a very excellent character of him, without
 being able to imagine why I demanded it.

Having gone through all the particulars of yours,
 to which I need make any reply, I shall tell you a
 very pretty story, which concerns myself, at least,
 if no body else, and which I have promised punctu-
 ally to transmit to the King. On Saturday last in
 the afternoon, Secretary *Nicholas* and I being in my
 Study, the Duke of *Glocester* came in with Mr.
Thomas Howard, who told me, that he was come
 T 4 hither

A.D. 1659 hither upon a very unpleasant occasion, to vindicate himself from an aspersi^{on} the Duke of *Glocester* had told him I had laid upon him of being a spy and corresponding with the Rebels and giving them intelligence. I looked upon the Duke of *Glocester*, that I might know what it was I had said to him, and his Highness confessed he had told Mr. *Howard* so at *Breda* upon some discourse between them: and as he remembred I had said some such thing to him. I replied, that it would not become me to deny any thing the Duke of *Glocester* would say I had said to him; but that if Mr. *Howard* or any body else had told me, that I had given such information to the Duke of *Glocester*, I should absolutely have denied it. However I could say no more of it, than that whatever I had heard to Mr. *Howard*'s prejudice in that kind, I had received from the King himself, to whom the information was immediately directed, and what credit it had with his Majesty he best knew, and I was to give no farther account of it. Upon which the Duke of *Glocester* recollecting himself said, that he now very well remembred, that the King himself told him of it, but that he thought I was present and discoursed somewhat upon it. Whereupon Mr. *Howard* replied, that he knew not what to say to any suspicion the King should entertain of him: but that he was the more troubled at it, for that Lord *Taaffe*, to whom he had lamented himself upon such rumours, had spoken to the King but three days before his departure, and had writ to him, that the King had a very good opinion of him, and said that they were all rogues and rascals who reported that his Majesty did in any degree suspect him for giving intelligence to his prejudice: and thereupon enlarged how unworthy a person he should be if he were guilty of so horrid a crime, and that he was very ready to offer himself to be tryed by justice upon
any

any charge that should be laid against him. I told *A.D. 1659* him, it was indeed an act so odious and so unworthy of a person of his birth and relations, that the King would not entertain suspicion of him, except he had such full evidence, as must make him condemn any man: and if he had such, it would be to no purpose to speak of it till he could have justice done, which cannot be but in his own dominions. All the service I could do, would be to inform his Majesty punctually of all that had passed in this discourse; upon which his Majesty might do what he thought fit. Now I cannot but tell you, that as it is indeed to no purpose, nor fit to say all the truth in this matter, yet I cannot believe it possible that the King, who hath evidence more than enough, would say any such thing to please Lord *Taaffe*; and I am sure his Majesty told me, that he would forbid Lord *Taaffe* and Mr. *Elliot* to correspond with him, as he had great reason to do. Yet they are the men who enlarge themselves in discourse, how grievous a thing it is that a person of such honour, and who hath done so great service, should suffer in his reputation by any whispers, without knowing his accusers. I think the King should now write to the Duke of *Glocester* (without finding fault with any thing that is done amiss) that he hath received an account from me of what hath passed with Mr. *Howard*, and that he may remember what his Majesty himself said to him upon that subject; and that though he will not condemn Mr. *Howard*, he is very far from being satisfied that he hath done nothing but what he ought to do: and less than this his Majesty cannot well say with reference to his own business and the security of it. When we meet, I shall tell you many other circumstances in this business which will make you wonder more.

I shall be longer than I intended, by the arrival of C. *Whitley*, who brings me several letters from
England,

A.D. 1639 *England*, and tells me that *Charles Littleton* is gone post from *Calais* to the King with letters from my Lord *Mordant*; which I hope inform you of more of moment than those we have from him, or else they were hardly worth an express. I doubt he may be impatient to be doing: of which I need say no more to you, since you know our sense here by the two dispatches the Duke of *York* sent. I shall not need to desire you to make very much of *Charles Littleton*, who is a very worthy young man: and I pray oblige him to tell you (and call to him for it from me) the pleasant discourse he had with Lord *Berkeley* the morning before his departure, and tell me if he be not worth his weight in gold.

I have enclosed a letter to the King, which will be fit for his Majesty to return to me as soon as may be: it is to Sir *Henry Trelorton*, a young very valuable person in *Northamptonshire* both in fortune and reputation, who is (as I am assured by a person fit to be believed) full of zeal and resolution for the King's service. The same person (a very discreet man) desires me to prepare the King to give a very gracious reception to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, when he shall come to him privately, as he resolves to do. The truth is, he hath behaved himself very worthily in this last business, and hath (as I am assured by those who can hardly be deceived) a very entire affection to the King and the Church; and as he is a man of a very great estate and reputation in those parts, I think the King may very well give him the command of *North-Wales*, if he will take it: and I am assured, he can make himself master again of *Chester* and *Shrewsbury*; which he would have been in the first time, if Sir *George Booth* would have suffered him to have gone from *Chester*.

The two Dukes went from hence on Tuesday last for *Breda*, attended by Lord *Norwich* and Lord *Taaffe*, (who I assure you) is in very great grace with

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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with both the Dukes, and with Lord Berkeley to *A.D. 1659*
Lembourg to his quarters, and intends from thence
to *Breda*, where I suppose all will stay till some
business calls them away. The truth is, it is a sad
thing to be here, if a man could help it, with no
money. I must not forget to tell you, that your
friend *Whyte* (of whom I think better than some o-
thers do) is sent by the last packet for *England*: and
you are not to be surprized if you see him shortly
where you are, whither he believes he shall be sent,
and wished that you might have notice of it.

I have yet received no letter from the *Basse*; so
that I can say no more, but that I have not the least
doubt of the marriage being solemnized on Monday
last. Because it is not reasonable to look that you
should decypher yourself, I have omitted in a place
or two to name some persons, which I should have
done, and which you will not think unreasonably
omitted. God keep you and bring us well together.

Brussels, Nov. 22, 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

SINCE my last to you of this day sevensnight,
which I hope Mr. *Cburch* hath so ordered that
it came safe to you, without going beyond you, I
have received yours of the 12th, and your other
of the 14th: which makes me conclude, that this
may most conveniently attend your coming to *Paris*,
if there be no direction there for otherwise disposing
it. However I conceive it will not run the same
hazard my letters used to do to the frontiers: and
therefore I will use as little cypher as is possible, and
shall desire you to take the pains yourself to de-
cypher it; because there will be somewhat I would
impart only to the King and you, and it will be
hard

A.D. 1659 to have part decyphered by another hand and not
 all.

I am so well satisfied by your discourse with the Cardinal and what he did after, that I do look for much good from him, and so he be resolved to do it, let him in God's name do it his own way. Yet I am persuaded, when he hath spoken with the King, his Majesty will be thought best to understand his own business, and will have most credit with him: and to that purpose I wish that the King may have spoken with the Cardinal before Lord *Fermin* came. I am likewise very well satisfied in what Don *Lewis* hath promised with reference to the domestick affairs: and if he make all good by the end of *January*, we may hold up our heads a little, though for the present we are in no case, nor can make any advance towards the payment of the bills we have, insomuch as I think we must be put to protest at last. I am glad for what concerns your own particular, and hope it will be made good.

I know not whether I said any thing to you in my last concerning Mr. *Nicolls* the Duke of *York*'s servant, who came about an intrigue (as is pretended) concerned *Dunkirk*; though I am confident that was not his chief errand, the Duke of *York* sent him in great secrecy to confer with me upon that matter, the design to my understanding being very improbable. When he had said all to me upon it that he thought necessary, he told me there was another particular upon which he was intrusted to speak with me by Lord *Oxford*, Sir *W. Compton* and Mr. *Ruffel* (I think he named a fourth man) who were exceedingly unsatisfied in the reproach laid upon Sir *Richard Willis*; in which they took themselves to be concerned, and were confident it was an unjust imputation; that Sir *Richard Willis* had wished him to tell me, that he had deserved better of me, and had vindicated me from the like
 calum-

calumnies; and gave many arguments, how impossible it was that he could be guilty. Amongst the rest, one was his fidelity to you, when you were in his power. When I had heard him, I made him such a discourse as I thought might have satisfied a reasonable man; how slow the King had been in believing any thing he thought impossible, till he had such evidence as would make him condemn his brother, and that he now made no more doubt of it, and therefore had given his friends notice of it, and looked they should believe him. He said, it was reported that the King had a letter of his, which might be counterfeited, and that persons of such honour as those were from whom he came, and who might be of so great use to his Majesty, might reasonably hope to be so far trusted as to have a sight of such a letter; and if they were convinced that he was false, they would abhor him more than any body else. I told him, the King could only judge what satisfaction was to be given in such a case; but that it seemed to me, that if he had such a letter, the producing it would easily bring to light by what means the information came to his Majesty; which no body would think fit to be made known. I cannot say he went away satisfied, yet he parted with much civility: but I know he hath since to some persons in this town (for however he came muffled in the dark to me, he was not so nice to others, but conversed with many, and amongst the rest with Lord Taaffe) make a very uningenuous relation of what had passed between him and me: and I have some reason by the discourses he made, to believe, that that was in truth his business here, to do Sir Richard Willis good offices, and to make it believed, that he is very honest, very useful, and undergoes all this reproach by his enemies credit with me: and Sir John Berkeley and his friends are very well satisfied in the point, and

A.D. 1659 and now magnify him and his friends, who whilst they were trusted were never worthy of a good word. There is no question Mr. *Nicolls* will find the King, for he told me he was intrusted by those persons to speak with his Majesty: and truly, methinks his Majesty should express some indignation, that he should have so little credit with his friends in such a case as this, and be very round with him upon it, that a man who hath wanted credit all the time he pretended to do him service, should now find it as soon as he stands accused by his Majesty, even upon his own knowledge. I confess to you, the behaviour of men here upon this occasion makes me weary of my life: and if the King doth not assume another kind of authority, it will be impossible for his business to be carried on.

My letters from *England* by the last post say, that Mr. *Russel* makes it his business to cry up Sir *Rich. Willis*, and that I am the only person that hath raised this scandal upon a man who hath done the King so much service; and so all the rage is against me; in which there is concurrence enough. Therefore they desire that the King write a letter to Mr. *Russel* and Sir *W. Compton*, that he knows this charge upon Sir *Richard Willis* to be true: and truly I think it very necessary that he doth so, and if he please to write the inclosed, and either give it to Mr. *Nicolls*, or send it so as it shall be delivered, and one letter will serve both. *Yates* is of *Russel* and *Bowtell* Sir *W. Compton*.

Now I have tired you with this discourse, let me tell you a tale that is writ to me from *London* in two letters by this last post; one from 851, that Colonel *Russel* and Sir *Richard Willis* sent for *Henry Fitz-James* to come to them, and asked him whether he had reported that Sir *Richard Willis* had betrayed the King; to which he answered he had. *Willis* asked him, if he believed it; he said yes, for he had

had heard it said by one who knew it. The other ^{AD. 1649} asked him who it was: he answered, *Dick Cromwell* had told him, that his father had often told him that *Willis* was his Pensioner, and gave *Thurloe* notice of all he knew. Upon which they parted; and what will be done more upon it, time must try.

A word of your business. If the Cardinal suffer some men to be transported out of *Britany* to the West, and others from *Boulogne* to *Rumney-Marsh*, and our men may at the same time be sent from hence to the Isle of *Ely*, your work were done. Above all, if the Cardinal will send to the Dutch to help, they will do it; at least connive at it, which will be well.

I pray tell the King, that he may call upon Sir *Thomas Bond* for 100 l. sterling, which one of our friends hath sent to him from *London*, to be presented to his Majesty at *Paris*. I hope you have some addresses from *Monck* which we here do not know of. I have a noble one by Lord *Hatton* this last post, which a rack shall not fetch out of me, and to which I have made as wise an answer as is fit. If the Cardinal would, he might buy out those knaves, and as many as are good for any thing: yet I had rather he would do somewhat else; for though two or three of them are worth any price, the rest may be bought too dear. I hope the King will put the absolute power of treating into no hands but his own.

Tom. Talbot hath now given over all his projects here, and intends to meet you at *Paris*, and to be restored to full favour. I hope the King will not see him or give him any countenance. Lord *Taaffe* went no farther with the Dukes than *Antwerp*, and is now here wonderfully exalted with the King's letter, which he shews to all people, and in which there are truly some wonderful kind expressions.

The

A.D. 1659

The inclosed from the M. of *Caracena* was sent me three days since; by which I concluded that he knew the King was come out of the *Spanish* quarters. M. *Marfin* promised to send me a letter for you, which is not yet come. The marriage was performed the day I told you, of which I suppose you receive an account from Sir G. *Lane*. By my last letters out of *England*, Lord *Mordant* should be by this time at *Calais*, but I have not heard from him since. If you see Mr. *Fanshawe* in your passage, he will give you the best information of the other Nobleman: and I am of opinion, for somewhat I hear, that you will find no respective treaty with the other, except the world be visibly amending. I heartily wish the King here before the Prince of *Condé* departs; which will be in 12 or 14 days. God keep you, and tell me I pray in your next when we shall meet.

If the King were rich enough, I wish you should get a debt paid to *Cchurch* of about 20 pistoles, which I have long owed him, for what he hath disbursed for me for a hat and such things. I hope the King will give *Cchurch* somewhat more than good words.

Brussels, Nov. 29, 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

I pray decypher this yourself.

I HAVE had none from you since that of the 14th from *Fontarabia*: and I am in some pain by collecting from other letters, that the King hath not seen the Cardinal, without knowing any thing of the reason. I have not heard a word from Sir *H. Bennet* these two last posts: but hear from others that my Lord *Bristol* is likewise gone to *Madrid*,

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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I hope your letters by the next post will tell me the ^{A.D. 1659} very day when you will be here. There hath been a discourse about this town these ten days, that the King is to be received here with great solemnity, and lodged at least for some days in the palace; to which I neither gave credit nor ear, imagining it to be only a town discourse without foundation; nor am I confident to the contrary. Yet Mr. Fox tells me, that a Magistrate of the town yesterday told him, it was true; and a Vanguelder says, they have hired plate from him for the King's entertainment; so there may be something in it. Yet the Duke of York, who came unexpectedly hither on Wednesday, tells me, that *Caracena* looks as woodenly as ever, and says the King will never do any thing for Mr. Kerton. I wish he would at this time write to the Ambassador in *Holland*, which your brother *Hamilton* says would do the business. I find by what Mr. *Kingston* writes to me, that *Ld. Aubigny* doubts that the King's obligations to Mr. *Monbrune* will divert his inclinations to the other Cardinal; of which I think there is no fear: however it will be necessary that both you yourself and Mr. Kerton speak very kindly to that Lord of the Cardinal *de Retz*, from whom I hear often.

Let me say a word concerning myself: If there be any money which may without noise be disposed, I hope you remember me, that I may pay those debts, and repair what is worn out: besides I must tell you, my wife is ready to lie in, and all things wanting. *Church* will speak to you about the poor officers, who I hope the King will be able to relieve and disengage, and then some of them would be best sent into *England*. God keep you, and bring you hither.

Since I sent my packet to the post-house, I have received the inclosed from the Duke of York, and

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I

A.D. 1659



I much doubt it will come too late. Your friend who can judge best at the *Hague* believes that *Holland* at this time stands exceedingly disposed to the King, and the least intimation (they say) from Cardinal *Mazarin* will do the work. They desire to be informed as particularly as may be, and if you are not to be speedily here, tell me what I may say to them.

Brussels, Dec. 6. 1659.

Sir E. Hyde to the King.

I MOST humbly thank you for your favour of the 3d, and for the chearfulness you retain: and I cannot doubt the Cardinal's kindness to you, which it may be he will not manifest to you enough, until you are in *France* upon your return; which I suppose you will be before this can come to you; for I find quick information is sent you of the affairs in *England*, and your friends there believe you to be at too great a distance. If you think fit to write the inclosed letter, (my Lord Lieutenant will inform you to whom it is, whose very good character I have from a person worthy to be believed) I beseech you let it be returned as soon as may be. Your letters to your brothers came not till the next day after that to me, and after they were gone to *Breda*, whither I immediately sent them. I have given the advertisement to your friends in *England*, which you direct, and which I hope will make them less impatient than they seem to be at present. God preserve your Majesty, and give you your heart's desire.

Brussels, Nov. 22, 1659.

The

*The Letter inclosed for Sir Henry Yelverton
from the King.*

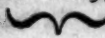
THE person thro' whose hands this comes to you *A.D. 1659*
hath given me so good assurance of your affection to me, and of your resolution to serve me, that I cannot but send you my thanks : and you may be most confident, that I will never expect any thing from you, but that which is most for the advancement of God's service, and the happiness and security of your country. I hope the time is drawing near, that you will have an opportunity to manifest your zeal to both, and to do all for me that I desire : and to that purpose you will consult with those friends and neighbours whom you can trust, that there may be as great a consent and unity amongst you, as is necessary to lay hold on any good occasion that shall be offered ; and you may assure your friends that they shall find me what they wish me to be to them all ; as you shall, that I will always be

Your affectionate Friend,

C. R.

*Memoranda sent by the M. of Ormonde for
Cardinal Mazarin from Paris, Dec. 10. 1659.*

TO satisfy M. le Cardinal that the hopes of his *British* Majesty stand fairer and better grounded, to recover his Crowns at this conjuncture of time with moderate assistance from abroad, than lately when his most Christian Majesty did connive at such a supply prepared for immediate transportation

A.D. 1659  tation by M. de Turenne, it may suffice (without need of any proofs) that his Eminence consider the visible posture of *Great Britain*, as it then was, and as it now is.

True it is, that Sir G. *Booth* was then actually in arms; but with few men, and not seconded. The presence of the army, and the intelligence they got, made it easy to prevent and suppress all intended risings and beginnings of risings in the city of *London*, and neighbouring counties, before they marched towards *Chester*, which was the only place of retreat Sir G. *Booth* had, a town not very considerable, and without the castle; the *Scots* in the mean time being strongly kept down, and the specious name of a Parliament governing the nations.

That Parliament hath now been violently dissolved by the army in *England*, yet not so unanimous in that act, as that they came not at the instant very near to blows amongst themselves concerning it; and in *Scotland* since in open defiance of the army in *England*, which (upon a new rupture after a vain overture of accommodation) is by this time far advanced, and may probably engage before his Majesty can land. And it is confidently reported, (their own Gazette implying no less) that *Monck* finding himself the weaker, hath let loose the *Scots* upon them, by convoking that kingdom in a kind of Parliamentary form; which (if so, as a very few days will shew what it is) is not likely to be so soon laid, as it was formerly over-run, tho' both armies should reconcile themselves to effect it; provided they be opportunely succoured from abroad, and headed by their antient Princes, with an unanimous resignation of themselves to authority; lessons, which their long despaired liberty, (unless by their old alliance and government) must have taught them, and in which the wishes and endeavours of the best *English* patriots will be forced

to

to concur, because it conduces to their own interest by amusing their inthrallers in places so remote from the heart of *England*, and from those foreign parts whence relief may be hoped towards it. Neither seems it in reason to be presumed, that those who last rose in *England*, (most of whose persons are at present set at liberty, and their estates too great a prey to gripe with hands now diverted and full of other work) or those others who should have risen at the same time in all parts, are not so much weakened by that defeat, or secure upon their now calm, as made desperate to attempt their deliverance with any competent help, before their tormentors return to settle any government but his Majesty's.

But for his Eminence's more particular satisfaction in this point, the instances following, amongst other of the same nature, are by a Peer of *England* now with his Majesty affirmed upon his honour and loyalty, of both which, as also of his capableness to make a right judgment in this matter, (as far as one man upon personal applications and promises may rely on and undertake for others) his Eminence may take a measure by these circumstances; that the said Nobleman was the person chiefly employed by his Majesty to knit and commission the late party that rose in *Cheshire*, and which should have risen throughout *England* and *Wales*, and was himself personally in the head of a rising party near *London*, for all which (being routed) he was proscribed, and escaped into *France*, yet adventured to return disguised into *England*, where he found the most of those leading persons lately engaged, and others, so little discouraged by the defeat in *Cheshire*, or so much provoked and encouraged by the subsequent action and opposition, that they declined not to give him private meetings; upon which he grounds this ensuing assurance to himself;

4.D.1659 That several persons of eminent interest in and about *Portsmouth*, are ready to seize that garrison for his Majesty :

The like as to the cities of *Exeter*, *Bristol*, and *Glocester* :

The like as to the main of *South Wales*, by one person of present power and interest there :

The like as to a considerable part of *North Wales*, by a person of great interest there :

The like as to the strong town of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, (to which the tenable *Isle of Ely* would fall in as an appendix) and persons of that county to back that garrison :

A principal man of present power in the Fleet disposed to make his peace with his Majesty :

A particular frigate of 42 guns offered to be brought away by the Commander of her upon terms :

A considerable person makes himself sure of bringing off the greatest part of the few soldiery that keep *London* in awe upon a good occasion for his Majesty :

Lambert so destitute of money, that being refused a sum which he demanded of Sir *G. Booth*, and refused a composition at the rate of two years purchase from the others obnoxious upon the same account, he was forced to march only with 12000 *l.* taken up on his own account. At the same time the seamen in great arrears.

Windsor Castle severally offered to be seized or delivered, with a vast quantity therein of arms and ammunition towards the supply of the well-affected *Londoners*, and others in the countries about :

The *English* troops in the *French* pay in *Picardie* disposed to serve his Majesty :

The city of *Northampton* undertaken to be secured. *Leicestershire*, *Rutland*, *Bedford* and *Buckingham* considerably prepared to rise upon the first descent :

descent: *Kent, Surrey and Sussex* so disposed, as ^{A.D. 1659} they will be ready to fall down to any formed body can protect them.

The doubt now seems to lye on the other side ; what need is there of any foreign help at all ? And in truth his Majesty hath no reason to despair of his speedy Restoration, even by his subjects solely. But besides, that a matter of this high nature cannot be made too sure, many of the disposed parties, here intimated, want arms and ammunition to execute their several designs with, and all of them some formed body of old soldiers for his Majesty to divert or repair to. Neither appears it counselable for his Majesty, whatsoever his forwardness is, to expose his person amongst such a mixed party never yet visibly embarked together in his cause, nor possibly hitherto in perfect understanding with each other, as are now in *England*, without some regulated forces, and properly his own, until his full establishment to the satisfaction of all. For which reasons it is passionately to be wished, that his most Christian Majesty would be pleased to speed unto the King of *England's* hands his effectual orders for his Commanders and other Ministers on the coast, for the furnishing his Majesty, whensoever he shall make demand thereof, such proportion of men, arms and ammunition, with necessaries and liberty of transportation, as his most Christian Majesty shall in his wisdom think fit to limit, or rather that this had been already done ; considering the discontents and distractions in *England* upon the late rupture of their Parliament, and that in such a conjuncture as this, opportunities are frequently offered and lost, almost in a moment, whilst the two great Courts are so remote.

And in case this present opportunity, which is by this paper represented to M. le Cardinal, should not appear to his Eminence so fair and real, as it doth

A.D. 1659 to the King of *England* ; or if the face of things should in the interim change : yet it is humbly conceived, that such secret orders could be no ways to the prejudice or foil of the Crown or Councils of *France* ; since as his *British* Majesty before forbore, when he heard of Sir *G. Booth*'s rout, to throw away upon a lost game the forces then lent him on occasion of that rising and diversion : so as it is in all reason to be presumed, he will proceed as cautiously in reference to these which may now be granted.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Hyde.

I AM here without my cypher, being unexpectedly brought here last night by the King's command, to advise upon the time and manner of his going home. For the manner, I think it will be by coach, which with useful horses he will buy (I doubt not) dear enough of my Lord *Crofts*, unless the credit he gives for part of the money recompence for the price. The time set down for his departure is Wednesday the 17th of this month : that will be the soonest. The first night he will be entertained by Mr. *Montague* at his Abbey, and the next at his Uncle's at *Vernueil*. Upon the whole matter, you are not to expect him sooner than the Sunday after Christmas-day : but care shall be taken to advertise you more punctually when we are upon the way.

I have decyphered yours of the 22d of the last, and 6th of this : but another returned me yesterday from St. *Sebastian's*, with one from Mr. Secretary, lye yet upon my hands. To those I have read satisfy yourself at present with this answer, that the King will do what is fit, and what I doubt not will satisfy you upon all the particulars you offer

fer to his consideration; and particularly in what *A.D. 1659* concerns Sir *R. Willis's* friend, and the other person that complains of the like charge laid upon him. What you mention in the latter part of the last letter in your own hands shall be taken care of, if I can help it, as I believe I shall; there being little more needful than to speak of it, if there be wherewithal. The King was much troubled at the paper I shewed him from Mr. Secretary, and imputes the greatest part of that aspersions to the madness and folly of some *Irish* Churchmen: but he will endeavour to wipe it off with all the industry he can. There is an entire satisfaction in the King and Queen with each other; which I hope will put an end to all other differences that flowed from a belief of the contrary, or render them less hurtful. I choose to say nothing to you of the sense of this Crown, because I am not clear in it, and there will be time to say all I can upon it, when we meet. I wish my Lady a happy hour, and safe delivery. God keep you and yours.

Colombo, Dec. 13, 1659.

The King to M. de Turenne.

Mon Cousin,

R Otherford m'a rendu compte de tout ce que vous luy avez chargé a me dire de vostre part; & il ne sera fort difficile de vous exprimer le resentment que j'aye de l'amitié que vous me temoignez avoir dans une si belle conjoncture, & si obligation. J'espere que vous en estes assez bien persuadé & que je n'aye pas besoin de m'estendre d'avantage la-dessus. Je vous prie d'adonner croyance en tout ce que le porteur vout dira de ma part, & de croire que je suis avec toute sorte de verité, &c.

The

A.D. 1659

*The State of England on Jan. 1. 1659-60,
sent by the M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.*

THE Lord-Mayor of London and the Common-Council have assumed the entire government of the City to themselves, independent upon any other authority: and all Citizens are required to repair together with their arms, to preserve the peace of the City, whenever the Mayor and Sheriffs shall command them; which is a power they never pretended to, since the beginning of these troubles.

Fleetwood and the officers with him have, without *Lambert's* privity or consent, agreed with the City, that there shall be a Parliament called to meet by the 24th of the next month: but how and in what manner the Members shall be chosen, is not yet determined, and cannot without great difficulty be adjusted within the time, to the satisfaction of any interest; and yet the concession that is already made by *Fleetwood* and the other officers seems to be destructive to the interest of *Lambert* and to all his pretences.

Lawson, who commands all the ships that are abroad in these seas, is gone with all the frigates out of the Downs into the river of *Thames*, and declares against the Army, and for a free Parliament, and the privileges of the City: and seems to intend somewhat more than is agreed between the Mayor and *Fleetwood*; the City generally disliking the moderation of the Mayor towards the Army, and which they rather impute to the Sheriffs, who are not thought to be of so good affections as the Mayor: and in truth the City is like to give the law to all other parties.

Portf.

Portsmouth is possessed by the most Republican A.D. 1659
persons, and those who have most guilt upon them:
who are most violent against the Army, and de-
clare most expressly for that Parliament which was
last dissolved by *Lambert*, and which without doubt
is of little reverence with the people. *Hull* seems
rather not to consent to *Monck*, than peremptorily
to adhere to any other: which is the temper of
some other places, valuing themselves upon the
posture they are in, which will make them con-
siderable to any party, which they shall declare for.

Monck by all that appears of him in his Declara-
tions professes to restore the Parliament, which
Lambert dissolved, and for distinction's sake is oppro-
briously called the Rump, because it is the remain-
der of the Long Parliament, and consists but of a
handful of men of those who have the same title to
sit there, and who have never mingled with them
since the murder of the King; and the interest of
those who from that time have refused to sit, being
much greater in the kingdom, than of those who
came since together and were again dissolved by
Lambert.

The whole Scotch interest being so opposite to,
and destroyed by that Parliament which *Monck*
now declares for, and yet his uniting himself in an
extraordinary manner to the Nobility and Gentry
of that Nation, and trusting them so far, and de-
pending so much upon their assistance, makes many
men believe, that he may have somewhat else in
his purposes, than he professes.

This is I conceive the present state of *England*
upon the last account we have received. How
much it may be since changed may be judged by
any reasonable man upon this account, that is, that
no judgment can be made of that people for any
thing that is to come, more than that there seems
great difficulty in reconciling these several pretences;
which

A.D. 1659 which is attended with all imaginable animosity between the persons in power; so that the general disposition of the people, and particularly of the City of *London*, seems to promise great advantages to the King, four parts of five of the whole people, besides all the Nobility and Gentry, being devoted to him, and ready to act as they shall be directed, and not without some difficulty restrained from some present engagement.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.

I PRESUME you have left such directions at *Paris*, that the truth of what passes in *England* is punctually transmitted to you, as often as it comes thither: and then you have it fresher than it can come from hence, and will make all the advantage of it that it will bear, without the help of any reflections or observations I am able to make; so that I shall for your ease confine myself for the most part to such things, as I conceive cannot come to you in publick advertisements, and yet in my judgment may be proper inducements to be made use of to obtain the end for which you are there. Whether what I shall first say to you be of that nature or no, you will judge and accordingly manage. You may take it for certain, that *Fleetwood* amongst other demonstrations of his weakness, which he would have called penitence for having contributed to the dissolving of the Parliament, informs them, that the Cardinal offered to support him and that party with money and other assistances, if they would stick to what they had begun. Whether this be true or no, (which is best known to the Cardinal) I should think it should dispose him to favour one way or other the disturbance of this Parliament, who besides their professed inclination to prefer the interest of

Spain

Spain before that of France, (if but to differ from *A.D. 1659* Cromwell's maxims and practice) will not forget this offer.

In the latter end of this summer the King gave encouragement to Mr. *Heath* to pass into *England*, being confident of his honesty and industry, and well persuaded of his interest, especially in *Kent*, where seamen are best acquainted. He in a late letter of his says, he is confident the inferior officers and mariners of the fleet might, in this conjuncture of confusion and want of pay, for money and by assurance of safe harbourage, be brought to bring off at least a good part of the fleet; and his words are, *He writes not this without Book*. How sure this would make our transportation, or rather how certainly with other moderate assistance this would do the whole work you know; and whether it may be reasonably hoped that a sum of money can be deposited, to be issued in case this be performed, and other authentick assurance given of good treatment and safe harbourage. I know it will be hard when the Treaty comes closer, in the private way it must be carried, to persuade so many as must act, that their reward is ready for them: and I fear it will be little less difficult to persuade the Cardinal to deposit the money or become caution for the King: but the advantage is so great, and the thing so far from impossible on the seamen's part, that I could not forbear the mention of it thus at large.

My Lord *Mordant*, *Massey*, *Titus* and some others are this week dispatched into *England*, with hope that they may find things there in condition to be improved by their industry and interest; which they are principally to apply as they find the temper of the contending parties; and those are *Lambert*, the City, and the excluded Members, which last may grow to something, though not by their

A.D. 1659 their own strength, yet by the support of one of the other, who may find that a more plausible pretence than any other they can frame. At the worst from these persons we hope to have more impartial lights, than any we receive yet.

The Ministers here receive our propositions with great demonstrations of readiness to contribute what is in their power: yet the preparations are not made with that vigour that will content men in our condition: which I rather impute to their natural slowness, than to their expectation of an accord with *England*, of which we have frequent, though I think groundless, advertisements.

Brussels, Jan. 16. 1659-60.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.

THOUGH the submission to the Parliament seems universal and hearty, in all those that have any military or civil authority in the three kingdoms; and though I conceive the appearance of its being so, and the drawing of the army towards *London*, reason enough to stop the King, if he were ready to embark with the forces, that a month since in the judgment of all men would have done his work: yet you may take it for a certain truth, that many of those that pretended to secure places for the Parliament and possessed themselves accordingly of them, did it with a purpose to make use of them in the end to the King's advantage, if the contest had been kept up a little longer. And of this we have good evidence, besides the known inclinations of the persons that acted: whence it may be inferred, that upon any the like conjuncture, (which infallibly will happen) we shall still have them to friend, and in a posture more able to help

help us. Nor are we the less to account upon them *A.D. 1659* for their taking any oaths, or making any abjurations contrary to it, since all in any sort of power there have long learnt, and often practised, the absolving themselves in such cases. And it is no melancholy remark by the way, that the imposing of an abjuration of the King's family met with such considerable opposition in the House, even from some that had a hand in the last King's murder. I wish the Cardinal would, from the experience of what is past, and from the probability of the like revolution, be persuaded to dispose so of troops, that they might be made use of in the proper season, and constitute some person he believes in, and is favourable to us, to be judge of that season: which in the appearing submission to the Parliament, may be done with less suspicion than when the opportunity is offered.

I am to tell you, that M. *Hemfleet* came hither the last week, ill-disposed in his health and in weather very inconvenient for travel, on purpose to tell the King, that in discourse with M. *de Witte*, he had liberty from him to assure the King, that whenever *France* should think fit to propose to *Holland* a conjunction for restoring the King, they would be found very well disposed to it; adding this circumstance, that the French Ambassador had (though not as a publick Minister) in discourse asked him, how he conceived the States were inclined to us, in case the rumour of the two Crowns owning the King's cause, should prove true: to which he said he had answered, that he knew not what to say to a question so put to him; or something to this effect. M. *Hemfleet* desires, that in any use you shall find fit to make of this, he may not be expressly named; but is content he should be so described to the Cardinal by his having been with the Princess of *Orange* in *France*, or by any other mark,

A.D. 1659 that he may presume it comes from him. It is visible enough in the Ministers here, that when the Republican party seems to prevail in *England*, they bear themselves as having part in the triumph: and in *Holland* the contrary appears. I shall now end your trouble for this time.

Brussels, Jan. 24, 1659.

The M. of Ormonde to the Lord Jermyn.

I WRITE now only to keep myself in the practice of corresponding constantly with you, and to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 13th from *Lyons*: for I have nothing to say that requires cypher, or that you will not have from *Paris* sooner than this. Yet to make this something like a letter for the length, though not for the matter, I will tell you my observations very briefly and perhaps very unlikely. That the Oath of Abjuration should not proceed, though it hath been industriously pursued by the greater number of the House; nor the City become any thing more pliant to the desires of the House; and yet that *Monck* should declare (as in his letter to the City he does) for this individual Parliament and a free Commonwealth, and march towards *London* (as some say) with his whole army, leaving *Scotland* to be kept upon the matter by the Scots, I cannot but expect something from him; at least beyond what he pretends; and believe it possible that he brings his army under this pretext, (which he finds most proper to lead them unanimously) rather to be mastered, than to master the City and dissenting Members: which he might do doubtless by only sending his Declarations. But what his further intentions are, or for whom, I will not so much as guess; supposing it possible

possible that they are but conditionally formed by himself, to be pursued or laid aside, as he shall find his power capable of accomplishing them upon the place. It is true all of our side write, as if they were pleased with the face of things: but I see no particulars that warrant so much satisfaction. I will hope it is a general inclination towards the King, grounded on as general a despair of settlement without him: which they are better able to observe, than describe. Upon the whole matter there appears nothing to me, that should change any thing of what I writ in my last.

Brussels, Jan. 31, 1659.

Tho. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

THOUGH I conceive it a work of supererogation to importune you with my collections, knowing how abundantly you are enlightened by others; yet in conformity to my engagement, when I writ last to you, I send you this account of the present state of affairs in this kingdom. *G. Monck* having cashiered as many officers as he thought fit of *Lambers's* army, and put some others in their places, is advanced with them and his own loyal army as far as *Nottingham*, having garrisoned such places as he thought fit, with such men and officers, as give the nation great hopes that he will be instrumental in healing their breaches.

In his march he was met by Lord *Fairfax* and many others of his judgment, whom he received with great civility and dismissed with satisfaction. All parties address to him by their own messengers; the Peers, the Presbyterians, the secluded Members, the City and several Associations, as of *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, *Lincolnshire* and *Norfolk*, &c. who

A.D. 1659 have already declared for the Parliament of 48, and to fill up the House by new elections, without any previous engagement. In sum the whole kingdom apply to him as the only remedy to cure our distractions: which has so alarmed the Rump, (you must suffer that name if they do) that they have sent Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson* to endeavour to seduce him to their languishing interest by presenting him with a vote of a 1000 *l.* a year, which they have given him, and such other bribes as they hope may work upon him. But it is the general judgment of the most sober men I converse with, that he is proof against these temptations; so that upon the whole matter, I find no reason to alter the opinion I sent to Mr. *Tompson* the younger in my last letter. Within ten days he will be here, and then we shall see clearly what party he will take. In the *interim* all the kingdom are amused, and there can nothing be undertaken that may promise any success, if there be any so mistaken as to attempt it; which I insert upon a ridiculous rumour of some design in this City. I could have been much more particular; but (I think) not more instructive, and therefore I consider your patience, but truly not my own pains. I am going into the country for a few days, and at my return, if there be any thing worthy of your notice, you shall have it from, &c.

Jan. 19, 1659,

THO. LUTTERELL.

Lord Crofts to the M. of Ormonde.

AT our return hither I found one of yours in answer to mine from *Aix*, and hope very shortly to give you a good account of our journey at *Brussels*. If the conjuncture in *England* suit with our contributions to it, we shall be able to set you shortly

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shortly into action, therefore you may dispose all A.D. 1659
your preparatives by that light you have of a sea-
sonable undertaking: and our waiting on you with
our parts, shall be as soon as the coming hither of
the Prince and M. de Turenne do give us means of
compleating our parts towards the action. The
concerting with them is absolutely necessary; so that
you must be pleased to believe that our stay is no
loss of time. I shall need write no more to you,
till we fix upon a day for our departure from hence:
which we hope to know this week; and you may
safely expect from our journey what may satisfy you
in all the circumstances of it. I shall use the address,
if need be, according to your directions.

Paris, Feb. 19. 1660.

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

YOU will find by my letter to the King the oc-
casion of hastening this bearer; so that I will
spare you that repetition. I find here a letter of
mine that I wrote to you from *Lorio*; which I am
sorry for: but I hope the harm is not great. I
send it you not for any use you can make of it, but
that I shall receive in letting you see I did not omit
to write. I made no error, neither for the security
of the conveyance; for I placed it myself in the
hands where it ought to be: but notwithstanding all
my care here I meet it. We are in great pain, as I be-
lieve you are there, to see disclosed the great mystery
of *Monck's* intentions between the Rump and a free
Parliament. The option will certainly be of great
moment, and of great direction after what course to
steer. We cannot be long without the knowledge
of it; it being (as I suppose) already made. In
fine the consideration thereof will be the subject of
our next thoughts. I have told the King, that as
soon

A.D. 1659 soon as that which indispensably keeps us here is dispatched, we will lose no minute after that. You will be pleased to be assured of it, and that I am most entirely yours.

Let the inclosed note be decyphered by a most entirely sure hand.

We have not obtained that which in the first place we had to ask: but we bring that which if the opportunities be offered favourable in *England*, they shall not be lost. Therefore let your labour be so to dispose things there, that a succour given of four or five thousand men may be capable of producing the effects that we have heretofore imagined; it being my judgment that we shall bring you wherewithal to put that number to sea. I cannot say that we shall bring such security for the passage as were to be desired. That security must depend upon the hope of meeting stronger than ourselves by the way. This is all that is needful till I see you.

Paris, Feb. 19. 1660.

Tho. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

YOURS of *Feb. 7. N. S.* came to my hands in the country, where some business detained me till within these three days. I do accept of your security against those fears which the reflections upon my former misfortunes did suggest to me, and shall rely so entirely upon your friendship, that I will not entertain any of those fears for the future. After those marvelous changes, which I suppose are come to your knowledge, it is the opinion of the soberest that I meet with, that the secluded Members will be re-admitted into the Parliament

liament within these fews days; that after some time ^{A.D. 1659} of their Session they will issue out writs for the election of the Members of a free Parliament, and choose a new Council of State to govern the civil affairs in the *interim*, and constitute General *Monck* Commander in chief of the forces in the three nations, and then dissolve themselves. To confirm this opinion, I am told, that this day the Speaker refused to sign the writs for the election of the Members to fill up the Rump, with the qualifications which are suitable to their designs. The results of this future free Parliament will (if I be not very much mistaken) agree with what I writ to Mr. *Thompson* the younger. I forbear to be more particular, because you will very shortly receive a full information from one that is much your servant. Read the 4th Chapter of *Esther* the 13th and 14th verses, with which Mr. *Calamy* concluded his sermon yesterday before General *Monck*. If you have nothing to command, you need not trouble yourself to write to me.

London, Feb. 20, 1659-60.

T. LUTTERELL.

Tho. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

I Imagine that you are very much distracted by the different accounts which you hear of our publick affairs. I will not pretend to reconcile them, but acquaint you with matter of fact, and with the reflections of the ablest persons that I converse with. The House hath voted their dissolution on the 15th of this month, and in the *interim*, that they will settle the Militia of the City and Country, in the hands of such persons of integrity and fortune as will be responsible for their behaviour. That of the City to the number of 10000 foot is already com-
X 3
pleted,

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pleted, and this night one of their Aldermen have the guard. The Officers of the City Militia are men of good principles: but General *Monck* is by the Common-Council chosen their Major-General, and is to have his commission from the Committee which governs their Militia, consisting of 50 persons, whereof the major part are good men. This is displeasing to many men, believing that the General is very much inclined to a Commonwealth (a government which the nation will never endure): but all circumstances considered, I do not think that it has so ill an aspect. They are now upon settling the Country Militia, and many persons are nominated by the Members, that serve for their respective Counties, who are such as good men desire. The Justices of Peace are already made through *England* of the most sufficient Gentlemen of the respective Counties: and when our Militia is formed, I hope we shall dare to declare our desires by our Representatives without fear of Sectaries or discontented soldiers. But here are some so very desirous of a settlement, that they precipitate the designs of those sober men, who agree with them in the end, though they differ in the forms. This puts our enemies upon practices that may retard and possibly embroil our business: but I am confident, God willing, we shall center at last in the right bottom. In the *interim* a Commonwealth and that *Pagellant Richard* are under debate: but they will prove *Chimæra's*. The first is carried on by the remnant of the Rump and some others, who are unreasonably fearful. The other first moved by *Lambert*, but generally believed to be the creature of *St. John*: but *Monck* will never endure it, and in sum, it is ridiculous. Yet I fear that we shall not settle without bloodshed: but there will be the less hazard, if (to speak plainly) the King is seconded by his Allies abroad; who is named every day in the House,

House, and his right by some asserted, but unseasonably. ^{A.D. 1659} The Lords that are capable of Session are in a great indignation against the secluded Members, who promised them before they were restored, that they would be instrumental to their re-establishment; so as they thought to have taken their places now; they will put it off till the next Parliament; for but the truth of it is, there is witchcraft in those walls; and they must be exorcised. *Montague* is this day made Admiral; *Carew Raleigh* Governor of *Jersey*; *Ingoldsby* has a regiment of horse; Mr. *Cha. Howard* of the North another. In what stile the writs for a future Parliament go forth, and what shall be the qualifications for the electors and elected I cannot certainly tell you; nor whether those that sit at present will be bound by their vote of dissolution. Many other particulars I could start, but that they are not to be debated in the volume of a letter. In sum, if the M. of *Ormonde* think fit, that Colonel *Tuke* should make a journey to *Brussels*, he has no more to do than to send him his orders with all convenient speed, for there are many things fit to be consulted and the time is very critical. I pray present my service to Lord *Fermyn*, and tell him, that if he does not do my business with the Princess Royal I shall despair of it. I hope the King will lend his aid: it is the main pillar of my fortune and I cannot make brick without straw. Let me the M. of *Ormonde*

hear from 141. with all diligence; and if he knows any thing where he is that requires a conference with Colonel *Tuke*, let him write to him particularly and positively to come to *Brussels*.

London, March 2, 1659 60.

Mr. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

A.D. 1659

SINCE my last, which was on the 2d of this month, there has been some progress in the publick business, but not so great as might have been, if the enemies to our publick settlement had not purposely interjected many difficulties which has retarded the settling the Militias in the countries; which I conceive will be completed in three days. The Officers of the army in the city by concert with those in the countries have endeavoured to draw up a remonstrance very prejudicial to the publick transactions: but they have been hindered by the General; and having yesterday had a conference with some Members of the House, they are as we hope something qualified. But it is feared that they will not acquiesce in the decisions of the Parliament; which will cause great broils in the kingdom, for both the city and country are determined to assert their birth-rights with the hazard of their lives. The Sectaries are down, and unless they are raised by the army, I think they are not much to be feared. Yesterday there was a debate about the form of their dissolution, when Mr. *Prynne* asserted the King's right in such bold language that I think he may be stiled the *Cato* of this age. This day they have been upon the qualifications of the Members of the future Parliament; but as yet I cannot tell the result of their debates. In sum, we are now upon the crisis of our great business, and a few days will determine whether we shall have a settlement or a war. In the *interim* every body provides to succour his party, and the whole nation is divided betwixt their fears and their hopes. Make your preparatives as vigorously as you can, and make them sound as loud as you can,

can. Let the King of *England's* and the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester's* firmness to the Protestant religion be proclaimed : and stifle all reports of any foreign match. If Lord *Jermyn* be still with you, pray present my service to him, and tell him I rely upon him for my business with the Princess Royal, and I hope you will not refuse me your aid. If you would have Colonel *Tuke* go to *Brussels*, you have but to command.

London, March 9, 1659.

Mr. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

I Have been so long attending the news of this day from a Member of the House, that I cannot write so particularly as I desire. The Militia of the kingdom is settled in good mens hands for the most part. The Writs for the elections of the Members of the future Parliament are issued in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty, and who are to convene on the 26 of *April*. The General has promised to acquiesce in the orders of the Council of State in the interval: and this night the fatal long Parliament hath dissolved itself. All this appears well; but I believe we shall not be settled upon our antient foundations without a war; for which all prepare vigorously and openly. I recommend to you the advices in my last, being well weighed, and doubt not of the settlement of the kingdom within these few months. I wonder at yours and Lord *Jermyn's* silence, who promised to write to me particularly, and his friends are in expectation of it. If you would have Colonel *Tuke* go to *Brussels*, write to him positively. Farewel.

London, March 16, 1659.


Original Letters and Papers

The King to Sir Charles Coote.

YOUR friend hath fully informed me of your affection and zeal for my service, and of the resolution you have taken very vigorously to advance it; with which I cannot tell you that I was absolutely surprized: for besides that some persons, who believe they know you, have often perswaded me, that you were never without some affection for me, I cannot wonder that the son of such a father should desire and attempt to do an act worthy of him, and which must contribute much to the preservation of his memory. It is not possible for me to prescribe or advise the method you are to take for the doing this good work, or the steps you are to make towards it, not knowing what persons you principally rely on for assistance: only I will promise you, that as soon as you have declared for me, you shall receive all the supplies from abroad you can reasonably expect; and if my own person be necessary, I will God willing come to you, except it be more necessary that I go for *England*. In the mean time, whatever you shall promise and undertake in my name and on my behalf that is in my power to perform, for the encouragement and reward of those who shall join with you in my service, I do give you and them my word to make good. I know not what commissions to send you, nor indeed how to send them with security, in so short a time as may be requisite; but I shall as soon as is possible send over a person to you, who shall be enough instructed to confer with you upon all particulars. Till then I conceive these inclosed commissions will for the present be sufficient for any thing that is to be done. If you find it necessary to

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join others with yourself, for the better entering upon or carrying on the business, you may insert the names of those of whose affections you are confident in that commission, in which there are blanks sufficient to contain many names and to pursue the powers granted therein. But if you find that the work must be carried on more vigorously than it is like to be by a concurrence of many, you will then burn the larger commission, and insert your own name into the other; which will enable you to act sufficiently till I can send you a more formal power, which I shall do as soon as may be.

I will not enlarge concerning yourself; the great service you can do me, and the great confidence I have in you, and your great merit towards your country as well as towards me, will all secure you that I will do what becomes me towards the gratifying and obliging such a servant. I resolve to make you an Earl and to confer such an office and command upon you, as shall very well please you, and to take your whole family into my particular care, in such a manner as shall give you cause to believe that I am very heartily,

Your affectionate friend,

*Brussels, March 16,
1660. N. S.*

CHARLES R.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

YOU may depend so perfectly on me for all performances of respect and service that can concern you, that without your immediate instructions I assure you I acquit myself wherever I have occasion given me, of those many noble favours I and
mine

A.D. 1659 mine have received from your Lordship. Your letter to my good friend Mr. *Annesley* was taken very kindly, as will appear by the answer: and I beg of you to recommend him to the King for very honest and very wise. I tell your Lordship a great truth when I assure you, *Ireland* is steered by this Gentleman, and that his reputation for parts is great here too. I have not your cypher, which makes me shorter than I intended, therefore shall only recommend to your care, that if conditions be sent, they may not be refused lest we live in a longer exile; for I am most assured the army is very perverse, and in this interval will attempt some smart thing. All my friends and relations I converse with are as I am: and indeed I am, my Lord, &c.

945. 765. 795.

I earnestly recommend my good friend Mr. *Rumball* to you, from whom you will hear such truths as will satisfy you that people and business here are no ways like the pictures Mr. *Broderick* sends.

March 16, 1659.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I Am concerned I have not your cypher, that besides my respects I might give you the knowledge of some things of so important a nature, that I dare not trust any other way. For please yourselves as much as you please, most of your letters are decyphered, and all your intrigues known; and all our names again exposed to the pleasure of several necessitous people. You ought to lay this more to heart, and cannot blame us to complain, since

since though we desired you would forbear those ordinary correspondencies by the post, you yet send what may hang us all every week. Oblige me to shew this to him you live with; for now he will be convinced when he sees his own letter returned him back by me. I protest we believe you think we have leases of 99 years for our lives, else you would have more compassion of us: but our turn may come to use you as bad; which when it does, you ought to expect to be done to as you do to us. My dear Lord, in a very short time you may expect to see him who is and ever will be most faithfully and humbly yours.

March 23, 1659-60.

Mr. Lutterell to the M. of Ormonde.

I Have writ to you four weeks successively without receiving one line from you, or from Lord *Fermyn*; though he promised me when he came to *Brussels*, that he would write fully to Colonel *Sam. Tuke*: at which I and my friend are astonished; and the more because we do not hear that any letters of late have been intercepted; and in the letter the M. of *Ormonde*,

which I received from '141. dated *Feb. 7*, he desired Colonel *Tuke* to write frequently to him, and that his advices should be considered. The publick affairs go on leisurely, but more directly than formerly; and there is no doubt but that they will have the issue generally desired: but for the former, it will be that which Colonel *Tuke* did mention in his letter to the King from *Paris*. For the Presbyterians have the ascendant in the Council, and generally throughout the Kingdom: and *Monck* will comply with them. The Council of State are trans-

A.D. 1659 transacting some important business, and have shut out the Secretaries of State and Clerks, and taken an oath of secrecy. It is believed as well as hoped, that they are framing propositions to treat with the King before the assembly of the next Parliament. And I doubt not but that his Majesty will treat upon them; though the ill intentioned party do industriously scatter discourses of his Majesty's resolutions to refuse them, and to rely upon his foreign aids; and forge letters which they pretend are written from persons near the King full of cruel threats of revenge, with which many are alarmed; and the rather because some of his party here speak in that stile, and distinguish those who are for moderate and healing counsels by the name of Prudentialists. Col. Tuke is of an opinion that the proposals, if any be sent from the present power, are to be received, believing the future Parliament will run in the same channel. Time, his Majesty's virtues, and the publick interest of the kingdom will produce that temper, which all sober men wish. Therefore I pray consider of it, and remember the miseries which we have suffered were the consequence of halting between two parties. But of this you will be more fully informed by Col. Tuke, who would have been with you before this, if some of his friends had not thought him in some measure necessary to their business here. He depends upon 141's promise of friendship, and assures him that he will not beg his assistance in any thing which shall not agree with his justice. To the advices which I gave three weeks ago I shall only add, that all endeavours shall be used to suppress those vain discourses which some may possibly use of his Majesty's resolutions of revenge; which I know are as contrary to his Majesty's nature as his interest. I beseech God to direct your counsels to his glory and our publick peace. Farewel.

London, March 23, 1659-60.

Mr.

Mr. Thomas Howard to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THOUGH the malice of some persons has so far ^{A.D. 1659} prevailed with your Majesty to my prejudice as to bring me in your Majesty's disfavour, by which I might reasonably believe that whatsoever is proposed by me will not be acceptable; yet upon the assurance of my own innocency I will venture to continue my endeavours to serve your Majesty, and not despair one day that your Majesty will see and be sensible of the injuries have been done me. If I mistake in the business I am to give your Majesty an account of, and that you believe it of no use or service to you, 'tis an error in my judgment, not in the endeavours and desires I have to serve your Majesty to the utmost of my power.

Yesterday being the 4th of this instant, *Downing* the Parliament Resident sent twice to speak with me so earnestly, that notwithstanding the reasons I had to myself ~~not~~ to see him, I went to him. When I came, he told me, he had desired to speak with me upon something that he believed would not be disagreeable to me; that he wished the promoting your Majesty's service, which he confessed he had endeavoured to obstruct, though he never had any malice to your Majesty's person or family; alledging to be engaged in a contrary party by his father, who was banished into *New-England*, where he was brought up, and had sucked in principles that since his reason had made him see were erroneous, and that he never was in arms but since the King's death, nor had never taken oath or engagement of any kind. And not to trouble your Majesty with the long discourses he made me, in short he

A.D. 1659 he told me his desires were to serve your Majesty, if you would be so graciously pleased as to pardon his past faults and errors; and that he did believe himself in many capacities able to do your Majesty some service. He could not particularise any great and notable service for the present, but in the general he would from this time do all he could. He believes he has a good interest in the army, and that your Majesty can have no greater service done you than the dividing the army's interest in their resolutions of vehemently declaring against your Majesty in particular, and in general against any government in a single person. He says, they will set out a declaration for this purpose within few days after this Parliament is dissolved: which must be now done, the Parliament being dissolved. He believes *Monck* will endeavour to set up himself: and to assure me he was real in his proposition to serve your Majesty, he shewed me a letter he received that morning (all in cypher which he had decyphered) from *Thurloe*; which gave him an account of the intention of the army, and that *Monck* had desired the Parliament not to put out their declaration for settling the Militia in all counties without the advice of the Council and his consent; and that the generality of *England* was for your Majesty: but that those who most endeavoured your coming in, desired it upon such terms as that you would have no more power than a Duke of *Venice*, and that no person now about your Majesty abroad should be suffered to come into *England* in many years; all which he did believe would in time be brought to pass, but not without bloodshed, and that there was great probability of a war; that the Parliament had no intent to dissolve, but were forced to do it for fear of being dissolved by the army. This he bid me give your Majesty an account of, telling me he wished your restoration upon better terms,

terms, and that he wished to see you a King that *A.D. 1660*
might oblige and punish, and that he would make
no conditions for himself; but desired to be looked
upon according to the merit of his services, and he
would for the future hazard his life and fortune
for your Majesty. He told me, if your Majesty
were pleased to pardon him and accept his service,
he would immediately go for *England*, where he
would endeavour to make good his promise, and
says, his not being looked upon as interested in
your Majesty's service will make him more capable
to prevail with the soldiers and the officers of the
army, who must first be brought off from their ve-
hement courses; and then he and his friends will
endeavour to bring them to such reasonable terms
as your Majesty shall think fit.

Since this proposition was made to me, I thought
it my duty to give your Majesty an account of it;
which I have done as near as I can, as it was de-
livered to me. If your Majesty like it, and give
me your commands what I am to do, I shall obey
them with great duty and obedience. If your Ma-
jesty believe it of no use, I shall leave it; having
offered it to your Majesty's consideration, as one
that is from his soul,

Your Majesty's Sec.

Hague, April 5, 1660.

T. HOWARD.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Howard.

§ I R,

THE King was pleased to shew me your letter
to him of the 5th of this month, containing
the discourse Mr. *Downing* had with you; to which
he commands me to return his answer, which is,

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Y

that

A.D. 1660 that having nothing more in his thoughts and wishes, than to become according to his duty the principal author of the peace and happiness of his people next after God, he is prepared to receive and encourage all persons that in their respective capacities and conditions shall be able and willing to contribute towards so happy a work; and therefore without looking back on past deviations, or examining the causes of them, he desires you would assure Mr. *Downing*, (to whose person he has no particular prejudice, and of whose carriage he knows not that he has any particular reason to complain) that he willingly receives the overture he makes of returning to his duty, and is not only well pleased to receive services from him, but resolved to reward them, at least in proportion to the importance of them, in which the manifested will shall be cast into the balance. He leaves to him the time, place and manner of doing it, since his Majesty presumes he must best know how he can most profitably apply his endeavours. This is all I have to say from the King.

From myself, you will do me the favour, tho' but a just one, if you please to assure him, that this affair is not, nor shall be less a secret for being communicated to, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Brussels, April 10. 1660.

ORMONDE.

Mr. T. Howard to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

YOURS of the 10th I received, and accordingly have spoken with Mr. *Downing*, and shall give your Lordship a more particular account at *Breda* to-morrow or on Thursday morning: for I intend

to

to stay here till the letters be come from *England*. A.D. 1660
 I have obeyed your commands as to your particular; but he at first seemed a little timorous: but I have satisfied him. He tells me, that *Thurloe* writ to him to inform himself, if he could by any means, whether the King's inclinations were rather to come in by treaty or by force; and whether the King was a person they might rely upon, if he gave his word, and what kind of humour the King was of: to which he assures me, he has given an answer with all the advantage imaginable to the King, and that he believes his doing it so as he has done is of no little consequence, he being yet in the nature of a publick Minister, and one that they believe will speak the worst of things of that nature. The question he shewed me in his letter writ in cypher. The answer we must take his word for. In the same letter was also these words, "*There is great striving to be Parliament-men; but the Royal Party carries it: but Monck came this day to the Council, and assured them, that notwithstanding all the appearance of a general desire of Kingly Government, yet it was in no wise his sense, and that he would spend the last drop of his blood to maintain the contrary:*" for which he said *Monck* was a great rogue, for he could have no design in opposing it, but to set up himself; or if he intend the King's interest, it will be upon such terms, as he shall be the more powerful of the two. I shall give your Lordship no farther trouble at present, but beseech you to acquaint the King with this, and believe that I am, &c.

Hague, April 13, 1660.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My dear Lord,

A.D. 1660 **I** HAVE but just now time to recommend the dispatching *Hart. Baron* to us with the commission to *Monck*, and such further instructions as shall be thought necessary. The proposal from the Speaker shews a necessity of calling the next Parliament by his Majesty's writ, tho' not in the form he desires, notwithstanding *Mr. Palmer* concurred in it. Pray let care be taken nothing be precipitated in this transaction; which I desire, because I apprehend the impatience of many may prejudice the affair.

By *Mr. Harlow's* letter you will find, the General has communicated something of his intentions since our leaving *England*. I look not on it at all to our prejudice, since in so publick a concern it were unadvisedness to be tied up to the counsel of one or two men. I conclude, the President is in his bosom, and that *Harlow* writ this from his brother, who is much esteemed by *Monck*, and of the Council of State. Pray let the King see what *Harlow's* sense is, and make that man his; for he is one that will be found useful. My dear Lord, forgive this trouble from, &c.

MORDANT.

St. John likewise desires to treat and come in. I took no notice of these transactions to the King, because I had not finished them. Now I desire instructions.

Received April 16, 1660.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My dear Lord,

YOU will have so many accounts of the late ^{A.D. 1660} transactions, that I shall only desire you not to believe too much of our good fortune, lest a reverse appear. This constant and most faithful old servant of yours I presume to recommend with as much tenderness as if he were my father, and in truth he deserves it, having undone himself in the King's service, yet bears it generously. Perhaps we may have an army in *England* under your command, if so, pray make him Treasurer. I am in sober sadness; for we are, in most men's opinions, as near a breach as a settlement.

I need not repeat any thing I send the King or my Lord Chancellor: but we have some Lords play the Devils, which makes me mistrust severe proposals sending to the King; which perhaps, were his Majesty upon the place, would be prevented. I dare not speak my sense; but if I durst, I would wish you all here. For God's sake protect *Will. Legg*, and consider him: and take this advice from a young man, part not with the money will be sent, till you are sure of peace or war. God bless you my dear Lord, &c.

MORDANT.

May 4, 1660.

Dr. Betts to the M. of Ormonde.

THE declaration vindicating the city from any hand in the King's murder came out on Tuesday morning; and altho' in my former letter I was

A.D. 1660 very confident thereof, yet in my last I was much startled, because I was delayed. The Parliament on Tuesday, among many good and acceptable votes, made one for 50000 *l.* to be sent to his Majesty, and sent a Committee to borrow that sum of the city; which they for the King's service most willingly assented to; together with the loan of the like sum for paying the soldiers arrears, besides the free gift of 10000 *l.* And altho' I believe they would readily devote their lives and fortunes to his Majesty's commands; yet 'tis not without admiration, why the Parliament, consisting of some that have gained by these times, of many that have been saviors in these distractions, and in general of Gentlemen of great estates, did not engage for these sums, which they might easily have procured, there being good reason for it; since I believe there are so many there that owe his Majesty (had he his right) almost as much forwardship. Others have been so profuse to accomplish their elections, that they have spent 500 *l.* 1000 *l.* yea some 2000 *l.* yet have not been willing to contribute 100 *l.* to so good an end and purpose as this. Whereas the city since the war with *Spain* have lost some millions in shipping and goods: but much more by the decay of trade, and incroachment of foreigners. There be many here who foresee the design to throw the burden upon the city; for whereas now 'tis intended to put down the Court of Wards, and give his Majesty 100000 *l.* a year in lieu of it; upon whom can this money be raised? but upon many that are not concerned, or in all probability to be concerned, with Wardship, as most tradesmen are not. I am certain some men here of 500 *l.* stock pay more in taxes than one of 100 *l.* a year in the country.

On Sunday night some of the rude multitude fell on the Anabaptists Church or Meeting-house on *St. Dunstan's-hill*, near *Thames-street*, pulled down the pulpit,

pulpit, and plucked up the seats, with many other such like insolencies: and altho' some are committed to custody for this action, yet there are many of that faction so credulous, and others so cunning to work upon the fearful apprehensions of that party, that suddenly they shall be persecuted, and how little security they shall have by the King's coming for liberty of tender consciences, whereas already their free exercise begins to be hindered; 'tis therefore the opinion of some judicious men, that if his Majesty would be pleased to give some publick dislike of this outrage, it would be a means to quiet those turbulent men, till the benefit of his happy and prudent government can reduce them to reason. I beseech you, pardon my boldness, for I should not have presumed to have writ this, had not Mr. *Laban* assured me of your favourable interpretation, and that he would take the blame upon him; for there is nothing I more fear than your displeasure, and must needs confess, the desire I have to serve you hath made me exceed: notwithstanding I shall beg this favour, that you will be pleased to account me, &c.

J. HERBET.

A gracious receiving the citizens now sent will oblige the whole city; and as their resolutions (under God) have been a means to bring the King in, so their love will establish him. As they begin, the whole kingdom followeth. Favour overcometh them sooner than force.

May 4, 1660.

Y 4

Mr.

Mr. Henry Coventry to the M. of Ormonde,

S I R,

A.D. 1660

THE last two weeks I wrote to Mr. Kirton, with the little I knew of affairs here: I doubt not but he hath let you know as much. The design I came for I was prevented in by my brother's second son: but I hope he will behave himself well. Since the beating and taking of *Lambert*, all things appear quiet and secure. Sir *A. Haselrig's* son is released by the Council; it is supposed, either for bringing over his troop, or for peaching others since. The same day *Lambert* was brought up prisoner, the citizens drew up in *Hyde Park* to the number of 17 or 18000 men, and as they were to march home, they drank the King's health at the head of every regiment, the drums beating, and when the health was ended, they beat out the bottom of their drums. There hath been an hot contest betwixt the old 48 year Lords and the young ones, *Oxford, Peters, Rivers, &c.* but at last the young ones have carried it, and this day they have all fate. It was this day moved in the House of Commons to call in the King; but it was deferred till Tuesday next, by the King's friends consent; and then it is generally believed something will be done in it; and by that time it is thought that the royally affected party will be much strengthened by the accession of divers of the Western Burgeses not yet come up. The calling in of the King is now not doubted: but there is a party among the old secluded members that would have the Treaty grounded upon the *Isle of Wight* propositions; and the old Lords are thought generally of that design. But it is believed the House of Commons will use the King more gently.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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gently. The General hath been highly complimented by both Houses, and without doubt the giving the King easy or hard conditions dependeth totally upon him; for if he appear for the King, the affections of the people are so high for him, that no other authority can oppose him, *Cromwell's* widow is stolen out of town, and her nighest friends pretend not to know whither. I am promised tomorrow morning to see a catalogue of all the spies on this and your side the sea. *Elliot* and *Progers* be of the number. I thought good to write it you, because I hear the last is lately come from you. He that telleth me this, assureth me of the truth of it. The Common Council are busy about a declaration of what part the city had in the death of the late King, and by what means and what men the name of the city came to be used in that tragedy. All things seem to tend to a settlement, and I hope to a happy one. I hope the horses please you. I will assure you, horses are beyond imagination dear here, and hardly an handsome one to be seen. I am most unfeignedly, &c.

London, April 27, 1660.

This Cypher is Mr. Jennings's.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My dear Lord,

Apprehending the House of Commons falling upon publick business, I prevailed with Col. *King* (whom Alderman *Bunce* brought to me as a most irreconcilable rigid Presbyterian) to take publick notice of what this nation had suffered since the first unhappy war. Really, my Lord, I was surpris'd at his unexpected seeming conversion; which

Y.D. 1660 which I now believe is real; for he begun, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.* Mr. Finch the great orator seconded: and Tuesday was set apart for the King's business; nothing to intervene. I come now from the Marquis of *Hertford* and the Earl of *Southampton*, to whom I communicated his Majesty's commands, who received them with all the chearfulness imaginable. This day above 40 Lords fate, which the Rump Lords or the Cabal Lords disliking seeing the House carried against them, inclined to call the Marquis of *Hertford* and the Earl of *Southampton* to moderate the others. By this you may perceive that all goes well: and truly all cannot but succeed, according to human apprehension. Sir *W. Waller* desired me to acquaint his Majesty, that he was nominated to command the forces in *Ireland*; but would not dispose of himself without his Majesty's special command; which I found my duty to signify to the King by your Lordship, and most earnestly beg the King's resolution. The Cabal Lords are quite defeated, and his Majesty is like to be restored on honourable terms. My dear Lord, I am so full of joy, I can scarce write sense; but you will pardon all my defects, since you know I am from the bottom of my heart, &c.

MORDANT.

April 27, 1660.

The words in Cypher are in Mr. Secretary's.

Ignatius

Ignatius Whyte to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I Forgot to acquaint your Excellency, that one A.D. 1660
that went by the name of Mr. Gray arrived at
London some few days before I parted. He had
credential letters to his Majesty from most of the
Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, and orders to ad-
dress himself to none but your Excellency. I sent
him word, how he might come into these parts
without any pass, and where to find your Excel-
lency. My Lady *Portland* writ by him to his Ma-
jesty. I was advertised of his safe arrival at *Calais*.
I am afraid he went to *Paris* first, to acquaint my
Lord of *Glancarty* with his business; for he is a de-
pendant of his Lordship's, tho' he goes by the name
of Gray. His own name is Dr. *Swiney*, an *Irishman*,
and one of the Missionaries sent out of *France* into
Scotland, where he hath resided these four or five
years, and having appeared a sober, discreet and
honest man, it made them trust him in that man-
ner.

My Lord *St. John*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, *Thurloe*, and
all the Protectorians, used great endeavours to try
if they could bring in *Richard* again. One of the
greatest reasons they alledged, was, that supposing
the King to be the most accomplished, the wisest,
best natured Prince in the world, and the most reli-
giouslest observer of his word, his party, which con-
sists altogether of indigent men, partly by their own
luxury, and partly by their ill success in the wars,
will become powerful by little and little, and so
considerable, that in spite of all the industry that
can be used to prevent it, they will force the King
to break any engagement he can now make, though
never

A.D. 1660 } never so binding: and since the nation is so violent for a single person, there is none who so conveniently may comprehend all interests as *Richard*. To this end the match between his sister and Sir *Arthur Haselrig's* son was to be renewed, the old army founded, and it was represented to the Commonwealth party, that they may be securer under him than under the King. These practices made the General very jealous of *St. John*: and whereas he was to be chosen at *Cambridge*, the General pretended to be so too, purposely to exclude him. His credit and *Thurloe's* is not at all considerable.

I have no more to add at present, but to assure your Excellency that no man shall embrace the occasions to serve your Excellency with greater affection and zeal, than I shall do, and to be entirely persuaded that I am with perfect sincerity and great respect,

My Lord, &c.

Antwerp, April 29, 1660.

IGN. WHYTE.

The Earl of Northampton to the King.

S I R,

THIS bearer, a loyal faithful subject, and servant to your father, is one whose friendship I much esteem. It had its beginning in the first war: its ground and basis was the principles of uninterested loyalty. We found harbour in each other's heart. Time, I am confident, hath not worn him out of your Majesty's memory. I observed that you cast your eyes of favour upon him then, and I can assure you, he ever hath and doth deserve the continuance of it; his loyalty and earnest desires to tender an early proffer of it being the motives of

this

this present journey, and affording me an opportunity of representing another to your favour, who, tho' his youth hath acted against the Crown, and your interest, I can affirm a real convert unto both. I may without vanity speak it; I was the first attempted him, being indeed sorry to see a person in whom so much honour dwelt, engaged with such a faithless crew, his interest in the soldiery advantageous, and for his abilities in conduct none more able to serve you. My first motions were in *Richard's* time, when scarce a dawn appeared to the rising of your sun. The proposal I made was *Richard's* resigning your right unto your Majesty. The motives I used, was *Richard's* preservation from the tempest (which, tho' then by many not believed) I afar off perceived would inevitably fall upon him, no shelter visible but to merit your protection by your Majesty's restoration. This dangerous secret did he most honourably preserve, and he no sooner perceived by the last *Summer's* reports, that something was in agitation that would determine in action on your behalf, but he most freely profered himself to do his utmost in it; no hopes of self-interest moving him, but that he might manifest his failings to be the faults of his misleaders, his worth to be innate in him. He would never lend an ear to any discourse of reward, but still declared that your pardon and forgiveness of his former errors was all he aimed at, and that his whole life should be spent in studying to deserve it. Upon my word to him, he acted, and scaped by the divine mercy of God those dangers so many of your loyal subjects had like to have suffered under. The person is Colonel *Ingoldesby*, to whom God hath given such a blessing, as to crush *Lambert's* aspiring ambition, desperate and bloody designs in the growth. I may boldly say, at that conjuncture of time none in the army with so small a force could have

A.D. 1660 have done it. Ever since his re-investing into command, he hath employed with good effect all his endeavours to frame those forces under him so as to be sure of them to serve your Majesty on the first occasion; which he no less prudently and gallantly than happily performed. Desert (and in high measure too) pleads for your Majesty's favour now; my word and honour are engaged for your Majesty's confirmation; all farther mark of your esteem I shall not prescribe, but leave to your Royal Nature to consider of; only make it my humble suit there may be some which all the world now sees will not be displaced. None can more rejoice at this day's action than myself. Some clouds still hang on the brows of some discontented persons: and I hope that God, as he hath begun, so he will continue his mercies, and blow them over without a shower; your Majesty's prosperity being the subject of the prayers and endeavours of,

Dread Sir, &c.

May 1, 1660.

NORTHAMPTON.

Ignatius. Whyte to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

DOUTING not but that your Excellency hath received by this time a letter I gave myself the honour to write to your Excellency from *Brussels*, I have only to intimate at present; that Mr. *Whyte* goes for *England* with the M. of *Caracena's* ratification of the conditions for the release of all prisoners on both sides, and of a settlement for the future as touching the ransom and exchange of prisoners on both sides during the continuance of the war.

Your

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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Your Excellency knows best of any, how important it is for the King's interest to keep fair with the *Spanish* Ministers. They can have nothing to reply, if his Majesty assures them, that he will return to *Brussels*, whenever any that is authorised comes thither out of *England*, and desires to see his Majesty there.

My Lord, your Excellency may be assured, that nothing shall pass private, that may tend to his Majesty's disadvantage, but that you shall be timely made acquainted with it, if any such thing should be resolved upon; of which I can assure your Excellency they have no thoughts for the present. It would trouble them much, if the mediation of *France* were accepted of. I have orders to oppose that to the utmost of my power and industry. I shall humbly beg great secrecy in those things you shall have from me, and you shall never have cause to complain of the affection, fidelity, and zeal of,

My Lord, &c.

Gand, May 2, 1660.

P. HOWARD.

Lord Mordant to the M. of Ormonde.

My dear Lord,

THIS Gentleman, Major *Salkey*, has so particular an inclination to be recommended to your Lordship's favour and protection, that I could no ways refuse him my letter. If I importune you on his account, you will forgive me, since I am not able to withstand the importunity of those who press me.

We are now upon proclaiming the King; and if you delay not too long, in my poor opinion, you will

A.D. 1660 will have his Majesty restored without terms. *Monck* is perfectly fixt, and tho' the army quarrel, I hope we shall prevent a breach; which upon my word we were near, when *Will. Legg* was dispatched. What particular services you have for me, I will perform, when I receive a Line from you. Pray trust not *Clargis*, tho' he have the General's letter, till my most worthy * comrade come, who will tell you what he is; yet all imaginable civility I am sure he will find for his sister's sake. All my relations, and my own self you may dispose of, and indeed I am, &c.

MORDANT.

London, May 7, 1660.

Mr. Henry Coventry to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I Believe your expresses are so much more numerous than your letters, that to write you news is impossible; tho' there never was so much and so good in this town as at present. In the generality of people the joy is so real, and in others so well counterfeited, that one cannot but wonder, how so dejected a people could learn to be merry so soon.

I pray, my Lord, hasten his Majesty over as soon as may be, to prevent the town's running mad; for betwixt joy and expectation the people hardly sleep. In what condition all things here are, my brother *Will.* will at large give you an account, and I hope give you a full satisfaction concerning himself, in order to some transactions here, wherein he hath been informed he hath been ill represented to his Majesty. I can assure you, since I came over, he hath been as sedulous in disposing all our rela-

* Sir G. Greenville.

tions

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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tions to his Majesty's service as was possible. *I A.D. 1660*
thank God there hath not been one of them that
hath not been passionately loyal. I humbly beg
your Lordship to continue me still in your pro-
tection, and if you think it now convenient to move
his Majesty to admit me to the attendance about his
person, that by your Lordship's intercession he was
so graciously pleased to promise me, tho' I cannot
hope ever to be of consideration enough to return
any service proportionable to the favour your Lord-
ship hath been pleased to shew me, yet I will assure
your Lordship you shall never make a conquest of
a servant more unalterably faithful than,

My Lord, &c.

May 10, 1660.

HENRY COVENTRY.

Sir Tho. Wharton to the M. of Ormonde.

My dear Lord,

I Wish that you may quickly wait upon the King
over hither, for fear that I absolutely tire you out
with reading my lines. This morning I was forced
to give your Lordship the trouble of them; but
these are now upon choice, to discharge my duty to
the King and your Lordship: and therefore I will
make no apology, for I think I am now in this do-
ing what I ought; which is to acquaint you, that
there are divers Ministers going from hence to wait
upon the King in the name of the rest belonging to
London, to shew their loyalty and respects and duty
to the King. I humbly offer it as my opinion, that
their reception with civility and affection may very
much conduce to the King's real service; for they
are men who have an exceeding great influence upon

A.D. 1660 the most considerable persons in *London*, and indeed over all *England*. Dr. *Reynolds* is a very learned, pious and moderate man. Mr. *Calamy* I have heard lately preach in publick that which many we here call the King's Divines liked exceedingly much as to the point of moderation, at a Fast before the House of Commons about ten days since. This bearer Mr. *Cafe* I heard preach when I was in *London* about three months since, when the general publick discourse and the officers of the army was much against the King and House of Lords; then I heard him preach and pray very honestly and boldly as to the King, and his discourse was at the same rate. And now this day of the publick thanksgiving I heard him twice preach and pray as much in relation to the good of the King in giving a most extraordinary character of him, as could be imagined. The other three I cannot speak any thing knowingly of, tho' I hear well of them, and that they are all for a moderated Episcopacy. There is another of their coat appointed by our House to attend our Commissioners this journey in waiting upon the King, and that is Mr. *Boles*, who (I can speak knowingly) was very instrumental in promoting the *Yorkshire* declaration. He has a great influence upon my Lord *Fairfax*, and most of the considerable Gentry in *Yorkshire*, where his abode is. He is a very wise man, understanding men and business more than any I know of his calling; and truly, I hope, a religious good man. His designs are to bring Episcopal Men and Presbyterians to such a condescension in things which are not absolutely necessary, as that there might be no jarings, but all agree for publick good and peace. If your Lordship would take notice of him, and discourse with him, it may be you would not think your time mis-spent, nor would you have reason to repent of it. He has been Episcopal in his judgment all these times,

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times, as I am credibly informed, notwithstanding *A.D. 1660*
men's discourse that knew him not particularly: and, I think, may be as instrumental in the King's service as any man in his profession that I know. My Lord, I have no other end in saying all this of these Gentlemen, but only as I think I discharge my duty to the King in acquainting you with my observation and sense of them, which is no inconveniency to you, farther than the reading so many lines, since you may either make use of them or not, as you shall see occasion.

I write by Mr. *Cafe*, because he is my neighbour, and came this night to take leave of me: and a civil reception by your Lordship to him, I suppose, will not be unserviceable to you. I shall now conclude for your Lordship's ease and my own, it being late, and I amish of an arm; but tho' I am disordered with writing, I could not omit this; for I am,

My Lord, &c.

London, May 10, 11 at night.

THO. WHARTON.

Ignatius White to Sir G. Lane.

S I R,

THIS frigate is commanded to set me down at *Ostend*, and then to wait on these Gentlemen to *Flushing* that are going to kiss his Majesty's hands. The bearer of this is Mr. *Bryan Cockein*, my Lord *Cullen's* only son. His mother is one of my Lord of *Thomond's* daughters, and I believe is recommended by one of them to his Excellency. He is a very honest Gentleman and a man of a very considerable estate. There is another Gentleman called Mr. *Cholenley* that goes from the Commissioners

AD. 1660 to his Majesty. Sir *John Grenville* is aboard *The Speaker*, and made sail from the *Downs* at the same time we have done. I could not neglect this opportunity to present you my most humble service, and to congratulate with you for the great and happy success of his Majesty's affairs. On Tuesday last his Majesty was proclaimed King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.* with so great pomp and so great demonstrations of joy, as cannot be expressed by human eloquence. All the fights that I ever saw come far short of this. I dare assure you, that since the creation of the world there were not seen such declarations of joy: all the study and art of man could not add to them.

There is no more discourse of treating with his Majesty; but of submitting all to his own mercy bounty and wisdom: and by most men it is thought the best expedient for the better establishing a firm and lasting peace. The day I came away, I saw many of the Parliament men, of the Council of State, and of the Officers of the army who met at the General's: and most of them believed now that his Majesty was proclaimed, he would not stay for the Commissioners but meet them at *Dover* or wherever his Majesty would land. And it was believed, that on Thursday morning it would be moved in Parliament, that the fleet should set sail for the coast of *Holland*, and wait there for his Majesty's commands. My Lord *Montague* told me, that he sent for Carpenters to take away the States arms from all the fleet and put on that of his Majesty, and that order is given to have new flags. *The Richard*, a stately ship arrived in the *Downs* on Thursday night. My Lord *Montague* told me also, that he would not set foot on English ground till he had the honour to conduct thither the King his Master; and expresses a very great sense of his Majesty's civilities to him, and longs to have *The Naseby*

Naseby adorned with his Majesty's picture, and the Duke of *York's*; which his Majesty was pleased to promise him. A.D. 1660

The people cry out every where, that they want now to make them perfectly happy, but a peace with *Spain*. The Spanish Prisoners are all released and embarked at *Gravesend*.

the M. of *Caracena*

I am charged to let you know, that as soon as the King is arrived in *England*, and is consulted withal, the General will enter into a Treaty with *Caracena*, in quality of the King's Minister.

The Queen of *England's* party is much dejected; their designs and projects being totally defeated. They have daily consultations at the Lady *Carlisle's* and some of them have expressed that they wished things had not succeeded in this manner, if the M. of *Ormonde* and Sir *E. Hyde* must govern. Something hath been moved in Parliament concerning the Queen: they believe she will not be admitted to return into *England*. Some cry out against the Presbyterians for abandoning of her, who suffered on all occasions for their consideration. Mr. *Hollis* is very sick; he is one of the Commissioners of the House of Commons. I believe somebody else must be chosen in lieu of him.

The day I left *London*, which was on Wednesday, there was a private rumour as if the Officers of the army had desired leave of the General to rendezvous themselves; their design being, as I am informed, to get a promise from the King, that if they get not an act for confirmation of the sales of lands, some other consideration may be given them in lieu of the said lands. I believe the Parliament's giving to my Lord *Craven* his estate, and to Sir *John Starwell* his, makes the Officers of the army to apprehend, that the Parliament will do so with all the estates that have been sold or made over to

A.D. 1660 the army. It is believed, the King's speedy arrival in *England* would dissipate all those kinds of meetings.

Commissioner *Lisle*, *Harry Martin*, *Thomas Scot*, and several others are fled away. The people do cry out for the punishing of those that were the King's judges.

I beseech you to present my most humble respects and most hearty congratulations to the M. of *Ormonde* and Sir *E. Hyde*. If you will be pleased to bring this Gentleman to wait on his Excellency and my Lord Chancellor, you will oblige a very worthy Gentleman, and Sir, &c.

From on board the *Wakefield* frigate
on Saturday May 12, 1660.

IGN. WHITE.

The Earl of Clancarty to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THOUGH I may presume you have all imaginable care to make discoveries of what may be in design to your prejudice: yet I held it consistent with my duty (lest you might be a stranger to it) to let you know that I hear there were of late some persons arrived in *Flanders*, who were employed by the Sectarists with overtures and proposals unto the Duke of *York*, who I hear has been lately at *Brussels*. I am assured they came prepared to propose matters of high and dangerous consequence, had not the news of *Lambert's* being suppressed so suddenly surprized them. I am confident the King cannot be a stranger to the least circumstance that comes to the Duke's knowledge in this particular: but my fear is, he may have busy people relating unto him, who may pretend more power in persuading

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suading his resolutions, than I am confident he will *A.D. 1660*
ever allow them. If your Lordship think this in-
formation worth the looking after, you may be con-
fident, all is true so far as I tell you; for I have it
from a person that I am very confident cannot fail;
of which, if you make any doubt, I presume I shall
be able to convince you, when I shall have conve-
nience of waiting upon you: so God keep you;
which is all for the present from, &c.

Received May 19, 1660.

ED. BLUNT,

You will be pleased yourself to take the pains to de-
cypher, and suppress this paper after perusal.

F. Peter Talbot to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

YESTERNIGHT I arrived here from *Fun-*
tarabia and *S. Jean de Luz*, where I waited
some days upon the Cardinal, Don *Lewis* and Mr.
Montague. And because Mr. *Montague* remits the
relation of things to me in his letter, which I have for
his Majesty, and that perhaps I may not be there so
soon as this, and that it may be convenient ye should
know what passes here, I judged it necessary to trou-
ble your Lordship with these lines.

The Cardinal and Don *Lewis* in their first confe-
rence some eight days ago, have resolved that two
Ambassadors be sent with all possible speed from
both the Crowns to wait on the King in his Treaty,
and demand liberty of conscience for Catholics,
and other reasonable conditions for the King's
friends. The Cardinal and Don *Lewis* are abso-
lutely resolved to employ their credit, endeavours,
and

A.D. 1660 and all the forces they can to see his Majesty restored upon honourable and secure terms; though they wish that his own subjects do it without any foreign mediation or compulsion: but if they will not, *Spain* is to deliver so much money to the Cardinal as will be agreed upon, and his Eminence will undertake the war. To that end he hath composed the differences of *Germany*, that he may be the more free for *England*. Amongst other conditions both Crowns desire, that the Irish nation may be restored to their estates, and will insist upon it as a thing much concerning his Majesty's security for the future, and both the Catholick Crowns honour, and the expectation of all *Christendom*. It is incredible how earnest and real the Cardinal is in all that concerns his Majesty. He says, the English are mad, if they impose any Covenant or unhandsome things upon him; because the French armies, Spanish coin, and the King's friends will be able to trouble *England*, if need be.

As for the Duke of *York*'s employment, I desired him not to send for his Royal Highness, till we see how the King's business goes: and his Excellency is content to suspend the business for reasons he hath referred to me in my letter of credence for the Duke. Your bills were dispatched from *Burgos*, because I was commanded to expect some days at *Fuentarbia*; so that I carry with me only the duplicate. Of this I writ to your Excellency from *St. Sebastian*, and therefore at the present shall say no more, but that I am, &c.

Bordeaux, May 20, 1660.

PETER TALBOT.

Lord

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A.D. 1660

Lord Aungier to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THE duty which I owe your Lordship, and the obligations which I have to give your Excellency notice of such occurrences as concern the Realm of *Ireland*, give me the confidence of being much more troublesome to your Excellency than I can justify, when I reflect upon the great affairs wherein your Lordship is involved. But since the care and government of *Ireland* is yours, it is fit that I should let you know; that by a Vote which passed this day in the House of Commons, in concurrence with a message from the House of Lords, that Realm is now at liberty to make addressees to his Majesty, that by his most gracious favour they may once again be so happy, as to have a Parliament which they may call their own.

I hope e're this his Majesty, as well as your Lordship, is assured of the high devotion which Sir *Charles Coote* and his interest (who have now the effective power of *Ireland*) do bear unto his Majesty; and which myself can testify hath been so great, that had not those who here intend the service of his Majesty, advised the contrary from time to time, they had outrun this kingdom in declaring for his Majesty. But we considered here the humour of the Presbyterian interest, and that if those in *Ireland* had declared before we had wound up these peevish men unto those ends at which we aimed, we might by too much haste (when *Lambert* was in motion) have been in danger to have lost that great and formidable party, which by stroaking we have joined and well cemented to our Master's interests. Besides, it was the judgment of his Majesty's servants here, to whom I had recourse in

J.D. 1660 in all cases of difficulty, that it was fit to keep *Ireland* in reserve, to give a check to rigorous proceedings here, in case we should find the perverseness run so high as to impose unreasonable and dishonourable terms upon his Majesty.

These were the grounds on which we founded those advices which stopped the career of *Ireland*, and which (I humbly hope) will be of force to gain a credit with his Majesty, that the proceedings of the Realm of *Ireland*, were not inferior to those of *England* in duty and respect to his Majesty. This, my Lord, will better appear, when your Lordship shall please to peruse the inclosed declaration; which had sooner kissed your Lordship's hands, had not my extraordinary haste in my dispatch by Mr. Bertie, caused my omission of it. And certainly (my Lord) this zeal of *Ireland* was no small spur unto the slow and heavy paced Presbyters, who therefore hastened to our wished for end, lest they should see themselves cast behind and in the rear of *Ireland*.

My Lord, this day's proceedings in Parliament, (besides what relates to *Ireland* afore-mentioned, and the giving of 10000 *l.* to the Duke of York, and 5000 *l.* to the Duke of Gloucester) are very trivial and not worth your Lordship's notice. To-morrow we shall fall upon the Act of Indemnity, which I believe will cause heats among us: but I do not doubt as fair and good an issue in this as we have already had in other things. I delivered Mr. Bertie a copy of a letter which I received by the last post out of *Ireland*. I believe your Lordship will be of the judgment that it speaks plain English, and therefore needs none of my animadversions upon it, till I have the honour of kissing your Lordship's hands personally, than which I desire not a greater happiness on earth to, &c.

London, May 11, 1660.

FRAN. AUNGIER.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1660

Lord Aungier to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I HAD in person waited upon his Majesty, and your noble self amongst that glorious train, which come to do their duty to our Sovereign, had not my reason backed with the judgment and opinion of Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Mr. Broderick, persuaded me, that the service of his Majesty might be better done by my attendance in the Parliament, than by riding the great horse in buff. We have a discontented party, whom we must not leave alone, lest they surprize his Majesty's affairs: and if your Excellency will be pleased to cast your eye upon the inclosed, I hope it will appear, that my not coming to attend his Majesty, proceeds not from defect of duty or of zeal, but from the care I have of those concerns, which import his Majesty's and your Excellency's interests. If your Lordship's charity will favour me with the believing of this, I then shall humbly beg that my Apology may be particularly made to his Majesty by your Excellency.

We have a knot of Commissioners from *Ireland* attending the Parliament here, who being concerned (and particularly Sir John Clotworthy) in the new purchases there, refuse to think themselves secure in any Parliament which shall be called in *Ireland*; except they can exclude out of the Act of Indemnity (which is preparing now in *England*) all those who have had any hand in the rebellion: under which notion they would comprehend promiscuously all those of the Popish Religion who have been either sequestered or in arms. This work is driven hard, and those exceptions which your Lordship finds in the inclosed Proviso, have not been gained without some difficulty. But yet I have prevailed so far among the sober Lawyers and those friends who

A.D. 1660 who have regards to your Excellency, that I have gotten time to crave your judgment in the thing, together with such farther instructions and alterations, as his Majesty and your Excellency shall give in this particular: which I beseech you to dispatch by this worthy person, who has promised to post back again, because I have procured to put a stop to the report of the Committee, until your answer be returned; by which your Excellency will observe the haste that it requires, in regard the Act must pass both Houses, to be presented to his Majesty at his arrival here.

The inclosed letter for your Lordship came to my hands by this post out of *Ireland*, and since I know it comes from that person, to whom above all others I am obliged, I have resolved to give it the speediest dispatch I can to your Excellency to whom I know it must be more than ordinary satisfaction; than which nothing is more aimed at by, &c.

London, May 22, 1660.

FRAN. AUNGIER.

Provisoes inclosed.

Provided always that this Act or any thing therein, shall not extend to give any benefit unto any person or persons, who have had any hand in the plotting, contriving or designing the great and hainous rebellion of *Ireland*, or in aiding, assisting, or abetting the same: nor to enure to restore to any person or persons other than the Earl of *Ormonde*, and other the Protestants of *Ireland*, any estate sold or disposed of by both, or either Houses of Parliament, or any Convention assuming the style or name of a Parliament, or any person or persons deriving authority from them or any of them, or which was approved or confirmed by them or any of them.

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LETTERS

To and From the

Marquis of ORMONDE,

About the Affairs of IRELAND,
upon his second taking upon him
the Lieutenancy of that Kingdom.

Sir Maurice Eustace to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

AFTER the finishing of my Letter of the *A.D. 1647*
6th of this instant, I received the inclosed; and the substance of that which was delivered to me was as followeth: "That the Lords
" of Muskery, Mountgarret, Galmoy, Taaffe, and
" Costelagh, Preston, Bagnal, Harpole, O Neile of
" the Fewes, and all the pale, without dispute are
" ready and desirous to come in and submit; so as
" they may have the benefit of the Peace concluded
" by your Lordship, and but a moderate exercise
" of their religion: wherein many of their Clergy
" are ready to join with them, and all the Cities
" and Corporate Towns in their quarters. That
" this being granted, they will maintain 8000
" foot and 2000 horse at their own charge, to sup-
" press those who shall oppose the said Peace."
Some would have this offer made to Col. Jones,
and

A.D. 1647 and that he should command those forces in chief; with other offers which they are preparing to make unto him for his own particular advantage: but the nobler and better sort of people think it a work more suitable for your Lordship.

I believe that the letters from *Bristol*, which I mentioned in mine of the 6th of this instant, which gave assurance of your Lordship's return to this government, and the good affections which the people do still retain to your Lordship, will suspend this great business for a time, until some farther certainty come from your Lordship.

This poor Nation doth now see how they have been deluded; I mean, the better and sincere part of them: and though they have deserved very ill at your Lordship's hands, yet it will be a glorious work to preserve a nation from extirpation, and to do the work which may introduce a perpetual settlement; both which, as is thought, may be effected by your Lordship with very little expence of English treasure or blood in a very short time, if that power be put into your Lordship's hands, which, without you, the wisest do believe will not be done in an age.

Sir William Parsons hath by late letters advised the Governor to the burning of corn, and to put man, woman, and child to the sword; and *Sir Adam Loftus* hath written in the same strain. They both live in a fat country, and are out of the danger of gun-shot. I would they were put in the front of the battle, to act what they write. The greatest cowards are observed to be the most mercilefs men.

I beseech your Lordship to take this into your consideration, and to face about again upon this great work, the finishing whereof doth most properly belong to your Lordship: for as you have borne the burden and heat of the day, so the sweet and glory

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glory thereof ought to be yours. Which, that it A.D. 1647
may be, shall be the constant and daily prayer of

Dublin,

Octob. 8, 1647.

Your Excellency's, &c.

MAU. EUSTACE.

Mr. Denham to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THE relation of the business of *Munster* (which, it may be, is less a secret to you than to us) will come to you by this post. The sum of it is, that my Lord *Inchiquin* has committed four principal Independent Officers, and has written a peremptory letter to the parliament for supplies. But that which gives rise to the report that *Munster* is declared, is an intercepted letter to Col. *Piget* from his brother, "that they are ready to declare, " and only expect my Lord of Ormonde's arrival " with money and other supplies.

Tho' this discovery may in some considerations be too early, yet that will be recompensed in another, which is, that they will hasten and increase the supply which formerly they intended to send with my Lord *Brogbill* to suppress the other, who is resolved to serve the King; but upon the commitment of the four officers (which was not so much for being Independents, as for their relation to him) he was so unsatisfied, that he resolved either wholly to decline the business, or to carry the supply to *Dublin* to join with *Jones* and *Mastice*, who, he believes, have the same resolution. But since (besides the access of such supplies) the reconciliation of him and Lord *Inchiquin* would without dispute settle the whole business; and that otherwise either the discontent of that army (which

A.D. 1648 by reason of his interest are very great) might give a disturbance, or that the two Houses might use some other means to suppress Lord *Inchiquin*, if he should go to *Dublin*, he is persuaded to stand to his first resolution of being reconciled to Lord *Inchiquin*; which though it has been much laboured by Lord *Holland* and Lord *Inchiquin*'s other friends here, yet he will not trust any of them with the secret of his intentions; neither will he offer it first to Lord *Inchiquin*, who being his superior Officer, it would appear too like a submission. Your Lordship is the only person he will trust; and if your Lordship will let Lord *Inchiquin* know, that out of a belief that they both intend the King's service, you are desirous to settle a right understanding between them, and that you have proceeded in it so far as to be able to assure him, that my Lord *Brogbill* will attempt nothing either against his person or command; but laying aside all former animosities, he will be ready to join with him in the common interest.

This is the substance of what is desired from your Lordship. You may please to use your own time and way of doing it; only with this caution, that your Lordship must present it to Lord *Inchiquin* as your own work, and not as a thing either sought or offered by the other, and that your Lordship communicate it no farther than Lord *Fermyn* and Lord *Colepepper*. I hope your Lordship will believe, that I neither have the vanity nor the ill manners to prescribe rules to you; but it being first imposed upon me, I hope you will the more easily pardon

Yours, &c.

M. K.

Since I was writing, the business of my Lord *Inchiquin* is confirmed by divers discontented Officers, that are come over to complain of him to the House.

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A.D. 1648

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Denham.

Sir,

THIS post allows time only to tell you, that my Lord of *Brogbill's* overture is as well received as he can wish, by the Queen and Prince; that as it is and shall be a secret to all but those he desires should know it, so his own way will be observed in the moving it to my Lord *Inchiquin*; and that by the next post you will receive what shall be farther resolved on in this business. You may please to add, that I shall do my part in it with great and particular inclinations to serve my Lord of *Brogbill*. I remain

Your affectionate humble Servant,

*St. Germain's,
April 15. 1648.*

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the Scots Commissioners

YOUR Lordships having such particuar and frequent intelligence from hence, I shall only remember you of some things that were mentioned at our meeting, more peculiar to the part designed for me. And first, your Lordships may be pleased by the next safe conveyance to send hither effectual orders to those commanding the Scots army and garrisons in *Ireland* to obey my orders, as his Majesty's Governor of that kingdom; that when I have prevailed for those assistances I expect from hence (whereof I have good hopes) I be not forced to delay my going over for want of so necessary an encouragement. In the next place you may please immediately to give order to your forces in *Ireland* to give all possible safe diversion to *Owen O Neile's*, that, if he intend interruption to those that we hear

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are

A.D. 1648 are well-inclined to return to their due obedience, he may be forced to look homewards. I the rather mind your Lordships now of these particulars, for that I understand the Gentleman imployed to my Lord *Inchiquin* is with him; and that there concur so many good signs of his declaring with us in the King's service, as if I be furnished with what is farther needful, may hasten over

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

*St. Germain's,
Mar. 17, 1647-8.*

ORMONDE.

Mr. Edw. Walsingham to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

Yesterday morning I saw letters of a fresh date from *Rome*, the tenor of which pleased me so much, and you are so concerned in the knowledge of it, that I cannot satisfy my self that I have performed my duty without giving you an immediate account of all; especially since my Lord *Hatton* hath the same confirmed by another hand, and is of opinion I ought by letter to give you the advertisement, himself being unwilling to do it, because he wrote unto you so lately about his journey.

'Tis certain the Irish negotiation at *Rome* is fallen to nothing, and the Commissioners coming or come already away without either countenance or assistance; so that you are in a manner secure of the mischief that might arise thence.

Abbot *Crely* is come to this town, and as tame as a lamb; hath told my Lord *Hatton* the same that the letters import, how he and the other Commissioners are come away much disgusted and dejected, the Pope having denied them the benediction of his purse.

The

The Abbot affirms, that upon his first audience ^{A.D. 1648} the Pope demanded of him, after all his charges and assistance, what benefit he might be sure would accrue to him. The Abbot replied, "Does your Holiness expect any other thence than the good of Souls? Surely, if the people of *Ireland* once perceive that you expect a gain from, or an interest in that kingdom, other than what you have, you will find all that power you promise your self over them utterly lost, and they universally steer to the next and best way of settlement. For your Holiness must understand, that those who have held them off all this while, have done it under pretence of Religion, and promises of means of supporting it from the Apostolical bounty of that See; whose mask once taken off, and they let see that it is not Religion, but Interest, nor their Souls, but the Kingdom you seek, all these leading persons will lose their power, and be left singly exposed to ruin. For how mad soever these people seem to be in point of religion, they are as much enamoured of their temporal laws, and will by no means be induced to think of admitting any other government.

This round expression of the Abbot, who went thither with credentials from *O Neal*, the Nuncio, and his part of the Clergy, wrought exceedingly upon the Pope; insomuch that from that hour he nor the other Commissioners could get a good look or word of comfort from him, but, on the contrary, the 10,000 pistoles, which before *Crely's* coming were designed for *Ireland*, were diverted to other uses there at home, where famine and insurrections begin to find his Holiness work enough. This being so, I am confident were your Excellence now in *Ireland*, your business would even do itself, had you but any moderate sum of money with you: for I perceive by *Crely*, who was as violent a person

A.D. 1648 as any of the party, that their courages will all fall upon the news of this, himself being come to those terms, that he would be glad of any solvable occasion of being owned and pardoned by you; having for that end addressed himself to the Queen and my Lord *Hatton*, to both whom he proposes things indeed not unreasonable, and of which I humbly conceive, as well as of his person, your Excellence may make good use.

The first thing he propounds is this, that her Majesty would think fit to employ any person well thought of by the fierce party in *Ireland*, either before or when you go, to inform them, that the King, herself, and the Prince, have fixed upon your Excellence for the Government of that Kingdom, and that it is in vain for them to fool themselves longer with other expectations; which otherwise they will do (as he says) even to the loss of much time, if to no greater inconveniency.

The second thing is, that her Majesty will interpose with you for to lay aside all personal animosities to particular persons for what is past, and that she will engage you to a promise both of that and of leave to an appeal to her in those particular cases hereafter, if it shall be necessary.

The last thing he desires is, that such an understanding and opinion may be begot in your Excellence of him, as that you may freely hear him, and he have reason to deliver freely his opinion to you; especially concerning the several most eminent persons that lead amongst the untractable party, and the ways of taking them off. These three things are the sum of his proposals; more than that he insinuates of course, that he desires himself may be the person made use of in all of them, which, if your Excellence so like of it, indeed I think he may to very good purpose, since thereby he will have it in his power to do no more (if so much) mischief

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mischiefe as otherwise he may; and it cannot but be much to your ends, for the rest to see a person they know so violent against you used civilly by you and become yours. *A.D. 1648*

Upon the whole, my Lord, it is humbly my opinion, that you have your business all before you now, and no rub left in your way material, but that of religion; which if you can pass over by a mutual agreement, that all be left in the present state till the King be settled in full power and freedom, you will have made an excellent bargain, and it is the cheapest you can hope for. And indeed I (who I hope your Excellency thinks no bigot) looking upon the face of the King's affairs so desperate, the Scots and all parties for him, that were else to have been much complied with, being crused to nothing, do believe that kingdom, reduced speedily to an united settlement and his Majesty's obedience, were well purchased at any rate of spiritual privileges. Since 'tis the only boat left to Monarchy, to the King, his children, and his party, to preserve them from an eternal shipwrack, and restore them to land again; for which I have no other, nor no greater hopes, than the prudence, integrity, and fortune of so great, so noble, and so excellent a person as my Lord of Ormonde, to whom there lives not a person that wishes more glory, felicity, and success, than he who in confidence of your remission for this presumption, that his faith and devotion to your person and your interest (back'd with those commands I mentioned in the beginning) lead him into; praying for showers of blessing upon you and yours, I rest most unfeignedly,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

Sept. 16, 1648.

EDW. WALSINGHAM.

A a 3

Sir

Sir E. Hyde to the M. of Ormonde.

WHEN I last troubled your Lordship by Colonel *Trafford*, I presumed to promise you a larger trouble by Mr. *Fanshaw*, who with great alacrity embraced this opportunity of serving the Prince, that he might have the honour to wait on your Lordship: which happiness I so much envy him, that I wish I might be a sharer with him by accompanying him to you. But since that fortune is yet too great for me, I am glad that he enjoys it, who knows so much of my devotion to your Lordship, and who (I presume) hath worthily so much credit with you, as to be believed. He will present unto you the very untoward condition of the Prince's affairs in these parts; by which your Lordship will discern how great a want there is of some counsel from you. And since it is not at present thought fit, that his Highness's person and fleet continue together, I hope he will dispose himself to some place so much at his own disposal, that it will be no hard matter for them to meet again, when it shall be convenient, and from thence appear in those parts which will receive most vigour from his presence.

If the expectation of this Treaty have not too great an influence upon the chief officers of the Fleet (who are not yet sufficiently weaned from their estates to bear the judgments of sequestrations and forfeitures) a good part of it will attend your Lordship before Mr. *Fanshaw* can be able to reach *Ireland*: for it is the Prince's chief care to hasten them; and it is high time, when the States very hardly forbear to send him word, that it is time he should be gone; and if they receive not some intimation this week, that he is ready, he shall hear from

from them the next; so much are they afraid of *A.D. 1648* the Parliament, whom they hate, and so unmindful of those by whose favours they have grown to the height they are now at. His Highness desires nothing more (and in truth nothing more concerns him) than that such a correspondence may be settled between *Ireland, Scilly, and Jersey*, that he may often receive advice from your Lordship: and if by that means I may be honoured with any commands from your Lordship, I shall receive them as great obligations upon,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, Oct. 13, 1648.

EDW. HYDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

S I R,

WHEN my Lord *Byron* (who we hear is long since landed) went hence; he had with him the Articles of Peace, and as full an account of the then state of this Kingdom, as came within my knowledge: and he was desired to give you a sight of all he was charged with; so that I doubt not but you were so far informed of our condition, and of the advices there humbly offered to his now Majesty. Since his Lordship's going, we have had perfect relations of those steps by which the inhuman Rebels in *England* have raised their treason to an unparallel'd height, as they have done our late murdered Master's honour in his Martyrdom, beyond the greatest examples of constancy and piety that was ever heard of. Immediately after a too certain knowledge of it, the King's Majesty now reigning was with much alacrity proclaimed King in all the Cities and Towns, as well in the late confederate quarters, as in those possessed by the English army

A.D. 1648 in *Munster*. And tho' *Jones* and *Monck* have given no testimony of their detestation of so barbarous a murder, nor any approbation of his Majesty's right to succeed; yet I shall for some time hope, that they delay both, by reason of some necessity that may be upon them, rather than that they can resolve to justify so impious a cause. In the mean time their men, both horse and foot, come daily from them to me; and many more would do so, but for the strict eye that is held over them, and the poverty of our quarters, which yet yields but bare subsistence to the armies already on foot. But when I shall be advanced nearer *Dublin* (which by the help of God will be as soon as grass comes for the horses) with an army of about 8000 foot and 2000 horse, I am very confident the better part of that army under *Jones* and *Monck* will come off to me: and if he be not before then considerably recruited with horse and foot, and plentifully furnished with money and victuals, I doubt not but a few days will reduce *Dublin* and the other garrisons northward; many of them being well inclined, and some of them, as *Eniskillen*, a strong castle, already declared for us. I have already in this city raised by way of loan to the value of 1000*l.* in money and corn; the latter will prove a no less necessary commodity than the former: and I hope in proportion according to the abilities of other cities and towns, to raise such other quantities of corn and money, as to keep the army full three months in the field; by the end whereof cattle, which the country at large is to afford, will come in season, and make us subsist as long as it will be possible to keep the field. But long before then, I hope, we shall be able with a considerable army to assist any party that shall declare for the King in any of his other dominions.

I have

I have understood, that the kingdom of *Scotland* A.D. 1648 hath proclaimed the King successor to his father, and that they intend to invite him thither to be crowned: but the securing of religion according to the Covenant, before he be admitted to govern, is to me no small alloy in the joy it gives to hear the King acknowledged in one of his Kingdoms, besides a good part of this. If his Majesty resolve to consent to that condition in the most rigid construction of it to himself and his subjects, I doubt not but his immediate going thither is most counsellable, tho' I want not some apprehensions of his safety, whilst the party complying with *Cromwell* when he was in *Scotland*, and then (as it is said) advised our late Master's trial, appear to be the ruling party. But if his Majesty determine to stick to his father's principles, or to capitulate with any of his other subjects, I know not where or how he can do it with more honour and advantage than here, in the head of an army with whom conditions are already made, and where he hath good cities and a strong fleet lying in excellent harbours. If it shall be for all this resolved, that the King go into *Scotland*, I doubt not it will be considered, how inconsistent the Covenant is with the Peace concluded here by virtue of the power given me, which I am confident I have not transgressed; and that there will be care taken to give this people no apprehensions that they will be broken with, which may drive them to take desperate ways for their safety, and me into a very hard condition, either to appear instrumental to deceive and ruine them, or else to oppose what commands the King may send me, to shew that I was no impostor, in assuming powers I had not, nor yet a willing property made use of to abuse them. I have by Mr. *Fanshawe* (who I hope is before now gone towards the King from *Kingsale*) offered to his Majesty some of these conceptions and
appre-

A.D. 1648 apprehensions, and also besought that the government of this Kingdom, by what Governor his Majesty thinks fit, and by what Counsel, may be immediately settled: and if his Majesty go into *Scotland* with intention to consent to the Covenant, and to the imposing of it on all his subjects, I shall humbly desire any thought of employing me may be laid aside; for neither will I ever take the Covenant, nor will they that propose for it believe me fit to be employed unless I do. If that form of Church-Government be established by Law, I will obediently submit unto it, and swear to act nothing against it: but to swear to be instrumental towards the extirpation of Episcopacy, I cannot satisfy myself for any consideration. It was also since my Lord *Byron* went hence, that I heard the distempers of *France* were grown to blows, and that they had driven my wife, and (I believe) the rest of the strangers from *Caen*.

I now send Colonel *Trafford* to enquire after my family, and if it be possible to bring them hither before the seas be full of the ships the Rebels threaten to set out. I am not out of hope, but that if the King come hither, you may attend him, and that I may here have means to serve you according to the many obligations that are upon me, and to the great desire of

Your affectionate humble Servant,

Waterford,
March 5, 1648.

ORMONDE.

I have ventured this out of cypher, upon my confidence of the bearer's care to destroy it, in case he be in hazard.

The

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I HAVE lately received from the Lord *Byron* a Copy of the Articles of the Peace which you have made in *Ireland*, together with a copy of your letter to me: and am extremely well satisfied with both, and will confirm wholly and entirely all that is contained in the articles.

I must not forget to give thanks to you and the Lord *Inchiquin*, for your singular care, industry, and prudence in the carriage of this business; intreating you in my name to thank all those that have been actors in the negotiation, and contributors to the happy conclusion of this peace; which I hope, by the blessing of God, may prove an effectual means to my re-establishment in my other dominions.

I will make all the haste I can to come to you into *Ireland*, intending for my better security to pass over land through *France*, and to embarque at *Rochelle*; and will use my best endeavours to procure supplies for you, and ever remain

Your loving Friend,

At the *Hague*,
March 9, 1649.

CHARLES R.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

CHARLES R.

OUR will and pleasure is, and we hereby command and authorise you, if Sir *John Winter*, Knight, come into *Ireland*, to cause him to be immediately apprehended, and to be kept close prisoner,

A.D. 1649 soner, until we shall send farther order; and to cause him likewise to be privately and strictly examined upon the causes of his coming into that Kingdom, what instructions he hath from the pretended House of Commons in *England*, or from any officers of the army; and what offers or overtures he is to make to any of our Roman Catholick subjects in *Ireland*; and to what particular persons there he is addressed, and to whom he intends to make application; and upon all such other particulars as you shall think fit. Given under our sign manual at the *Hague* the 12th day of *March* in the first year of our reign.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin, we greet you well. Having received several advertisements from *England*, that Sir *John Winter*, Knight, is to be sent from the army there into *Ireland*, with propositions to our Roman Catholick subjects of that kingdom, to seduce them from their allegiance to us, and from the peace lately made with you, by offers of Toleration and other advantages in both kingdoms: We think fit to give you this timely notice of it, that you may use such circumspection and prevention as you shall conceive necessary in this behalf, we referring it wholly to your judgment upon the place. Given under our signet at the *Hague* the 12th day of *March*, in the first year of our reign.

Instructions

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

Instructions from the Queen to the Lord Byron,

10 March, 1649.

1. **YOU** are to repair with all speed to his Majesty into *Holland*, and to acquaint him, that having perused the dispatch which you brought out of *Ireland*, we have been confirmed thereby in the opinion which we have formerly delivered, That it is most requisite for the good of his affairs, that he with all possible speed transport himself into that kingdom; as likewise in the manner of doing it formerly proposed to his Majesty; to wit,

2. That having reduced his company to as small a number as is possible, his Majesty borrow some ships of war of the States, and therein send the said company (except such as are of absolute necessity to be always about his own person) either to *Port Louis*, *Rhode*, *Conquet*, or *Rockelle*; and that this reduction is the more necessary in regard of the great want of monies now in *Ireland*, and the great occasions for it in prosecution of the war there; from which as little is to be diverted as is possible.

3. That having sent away most of his retinue as aforesaid by sea, we desire that his Majesty would himself pass by land through *France* to meet them at the place appointed; as well that in this our greatest affliction we may have the consolation of seeing him, as likewise that all things may be concerted here, which shall be found necessary for the advancement of his service, as well in these countries abroad, as in those parts of his dominions, with which it will be difficult for him at that distance to keep a constant correspondence.

4. You are likewise to present to his Majesty's consideration, that he being once resolved of going into *Ireland*, the reconciling of the Scots to that determi-

A.D. 1649 determination (if it be to be obtained) is one of the most material and important things for the good of his affairs that can grow in question, and consequently to be endeavoured with the greatest care and prudence; for which ends all the persons of condition of that nation now with him are to be dealt with, with all the respect that can be used, and to receive, for their invitations to engage their credit and service in the prevailing with others, all the real demonstrations of grace and favour, that the present ability his Majesty is in can enable him unto; and to be assured, that his going into *Ireland* is rather to make the helps he expects from them profitable and successful to him, than in the belief that he can ever recover his rights without it; and that they may look for as many marks of his acknowledgments for the concurrences he shall receive from them, when it shall please God to bless his journey into *Ireland*, so far forth as that kingdom shall be united under his obedience; and if he shall come that way to them, to receive their assistance as if they were to be the sole authors of the means of his first attempts, and that he were presently by their invitations of him to carry his person to them for those ends.

5. You are to assure his Majesty, that we shall provide such passports and assurances, as shall be necessary for his safe and honourable reception here and remove from hence; and shall send them to meet him in *Flanders*, so that his Majesty shall not need to stay at all in *Holland*, when he is ready for his journey in expectation of any thing of that kind.

6. You are to communicate these instructions, and the matter of your dispatch for *Ireland*, to our dear son-in-law the Prince of *Orange*, and to desire his advice concerning both.

7. You are to communicate these instructions to such persons as you shall receive orders for from the King. The

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, we greet you well. We have duly considered of your instructions given to our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord *Byron*, and have heard him at large upon all the particulars contained therein, and are resolved not only to confirm and ratify fully and entirely all the articles of the treaty with our Roman Catholick subjects of the kingdom of *Ireland*, but to promote and advance with our uttermost care all that shall concern the settlement of that kingdom, and conduce to the plenty, happiness, and prosperity thereof; and we will forthwith recommend their affairs to all foreign Princes and States in league and amity with us, and give particular command to all our agents and ministers to be very careful of all things that concern the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in such manner as you have directed; and especially to follow and pursue such instructions as they shall receive from you for our service.

Concerning the Spanish agents treaty with you for the transporting of men out of that kingdom, we leave it wholly to you to do therein as you shall think fit, being confident you know better what is fit for our service, than we are able to judge at this distance.

We have already by our former letters given you warrant to cause a new Great Seal to be made, and to commit the custody thereof to such person or persons as you shall think fit: and we hereby give you power and authority to give order for a Purse, two Maces and a Sword, to be immediately made, and to cause them to be used in such manner as

A.D. 1649 formerly hath been accustomed. Given under our signet at the *Hague* the $\frac{3}{4}$ th of *March* in the first year of our Reign.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty;

YOUR letters of the 9th and 31st of *March* by Colonel *Leg* and Captain *Rutter* I received yesterday here, and your Majesty's other dispatches by Sir *George Munro* about three weeks since; by all which I find all my desires touching this Kingdom (which I intended to have transmitted by an express) prevented by your Majesty's wisdom and resolution to transport your self hither. The messenger designed for Prince *Rupert's* dispatch to your Majesty stays only for this of mine, which therefore must be the shorter; the beginning of your Majesty's journey hitherwards seeming to me in some sort to depend upon what he is charged with, yet this summary of our condition I hold my duty to give your Majesty an account of.

The Peace concluded, and now by your Majesty confirmed, is disliked by divers violent persons, and endeavoured to be frustrated as to the fruits of it; to whom secretly join divers that have seemed to forward it, finding their irregular aims not so fully complied with as they expected; there being an impossibility to answer the expectations of all that believe much of their own merit. The only expedient I could apply to this was, to make election of the most deserving and most considerable to be obliged, and to have the best watch I can upon the others. There hath lately been a treaty with *Owen O Neile*, and it is continued still; but I have little hopes he will be that way reduced, and am not clear,

clear, whether at the rate he will set upon himself and his power, his friendship or enmity be most to be wished. I have been persuaded to invite *Jones*, and am not satisfied that the encouragement given me so to do (by some pretending your Majesty's service, and of near relation to *Jones*) was to give him opportunity to manifest his resolution to adhere to the bloody Rebels, and to gain the more seasonable and considerable supplies from them. I have lately seen 8000 good Foot, all (I hope) ready to spend their lives in your Majesty's cause. The Horse I could not draw together, without ruining them or the country, there being no forage for them; but I guess they will be about 2000. To provide for these, and to keep them and the cities in their obedience, I have been in continual motion since my Lord *Byron's* departure; and so could neither find means to send to your Majesty so frequently, as was my desire and duty to have done; nor was it possible for me to add any thing of importance to my former dispatches.

It hath not yet been possible for me to settle any Council or Judicature, by virtue of the power wherewith your Majesty hath been pleased to intrust me: and though the want of both is the occasion of much disorder, and consequently a mighty hindrance to the perfect settlement and reduction of this kingdom under your Majesty's authority; yet I rather choose to struggle with and bear the difficulty and inconveniencies thence arising, than to venture upon the distribution of those trusts, till the army, by my being amongst them, be more confirmed in their good affections and resolutions, and till your Majesty, having taken possession of them and the kingdom, shall give rules to us for the government thereof. It will be needless to tell your Majesty, that those parts of your dispatches, which are commands, shall be met with a ready

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A.D. 1649 obedience; since that is no less my desire, than it is my duty, who am

Your Majesty's most faithful

Cork, April 10,
1649.

and most humble Subject and Servant,

ORMONDE.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin, we greet you well. We have received so full information of the good affections of the Lord *Brougill* to the King our late Father, of blessed memory, and to Us; and we have likewise received such expressions of his desire to do us service, that we are fully resolved to pardon whatsoever he may have formerly done amiss, and to consider him for the time to come as a person upon whose loyalty and affection we may confidently rely; and the rather, because he intends shortly to wait upon us in his way to *Ireland*. We intreat you therefore to have the like consideration of him, and to afford him your just favour and protection in such things as may concern him in that kingdom; and particularly to receive his Lady (who intends immediately to repair thither) with civility and kindness answerable to her quality, and to the esteem we have of her; and to endeavour (as there shall be occasion) to do all good offices, and to settle a right understanding between the Lord *Inchiquin*, our President of *Munster*, and the said Lord *Brougill*; which we desire as a thing much conducing to our service in that kingdom. Given under our signet at the *Hague* the 20th of *April*, 1649, and in the first year of our reign.

The

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

The M. of Ormonde to P. Rupert.

May it please your Highness,

BY the letter herewith inclosed from the most active man in the country whence he writes, your Highness will find the resolutions, present condition, and apprehensions of those that have there actually declared for the King, at least against the present Rebels of *England*.

They have heretofore sent to me for commissions, which were dispatched to them: but whether they have published them, or do now act under them, is more than I know. However, if the assistance of shipping desired by them may possibly be sent, I humbly conceive they cannot be more advantageously employed, than in helping to reduce that *City, * *London* and the fort near it: which will make that party absolute masters of that side of the North, and consequently enable them to afford considerable assistance towards the reduction of any other part of the kingdom. What strength of shipping is necessary, I cannot say; it being uncertain with what force the supplies expected by Coote from *London* by long sea may come conveyed. But all the shipping belonging to the Northern Rebels on the coasts of *England* towards *Ireland* (I am assured) are no more than three, which are appointed to convoy over some forces designed and lying ready at the water-side for the relief of *Dublin*; and, of those three, one only is of any considerable strength, and she of about 30 guns. The interruption which may be given to that access of strength to Jones, will in all probability render the work against him very easy: as on the contrary, if he be supplied, it will be almost a desperate undertaking, and I shall be forced

A.D. 1649 to a defensive war. This being the state of *Dublin* and the North about *Londonderry*, I humbly leave it to your Highness to consider how those supplies we fear may be speedily prevented, the good success of the King's service in this kingdom mainly depending thereon.

As I remember, when your Highness was pleased to give me notice of your intention to come into the river of *Waterford*, and asked me whether I conceived the fort of *Duncannon* to be in secure hands, I answered, that I was not absolutely assured of the faithfulness of him that commanded it, in case of a breach with this people upon the Clergy's interest; upon which only there is any fear of a breach. And I think I told your Highness, your greatest ships might ride securely out of the command of that fort. For the city of *Waterford*, where your Highness may think fit to make your residence with ware and store-houses, there can be no fear of it as long as we can be masters in the field; and longer than we are so, I know no secure place in the kingdom. This I held necessary to reiterate, upon some discourse with my Lord *Taafe* of your coming to *Waterford*.

I find the country within our power so exceedingly wasted by the spoil committed by several enemies, and by the great improvidence hitherto of those that had the care of it and the army, that I fear there will not be means to feed the armies that must be necessarily employed to reduce those of several parties in rebellion. Therefore it is that I take the boldness to mind your Highness of his Majesty's pleasure, signified by several letters to Mr. *Fanshawe* and me, for a sum of money out of prizes to be disposed of for the support of the army; or that if money may not be to be had, you would be pleased to assign what goods you think fit for that purpose, to such as I shall appoint to receive
and

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and make money of them. How seasonable this proposition may be in relation to the charge needful to maintain and set forth the Fleet, I know not; but am so sensible of the importance it is of, to have it both maintained and set forth, that I shall press for this supply no farther, either for the time or proportion of doing it, than as your Highness shall find it consisting with the good of the fleet, how great and how dangerous soever the difficulties are that I must contend with for want of it. I am

A.D. 1649

Your Highness's most faithful

*Kilkenny, 29 April,
1649.*

and most humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

I send your Highness the intelligence I have of the supplies ready to come, and of the convoy they have.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Fanshaw.

S I R,

I HAVE written to his Highness touching some things I conceive needful to be speedily put in execution. I have given him an account of my knowledge of the condition of *Waterford* and *Duncannon* fort, in relation to the security of his lying in that river, or residing at *Waterford*: and I have put his Highness in mind of his Majesty's directions to you for a sum of money to be put into my hands for his service. But my desire for money, which perhaps is not to be had, may be satisfied by assigning such goods as may give us credit: and if any part of those goods could be in corn, and that sent

Bb 3

to

A.D. 1649 to *Waterford*, it would in proportion be as good as money; and if this proportion be unseasonable, that is, inconsistent with the setting forth the fleet, I have for the present waved it, either in part or in the whole; not but that I foresee very great hazards and delays will arise to the service for want of it, but that in my judgment I account them fitter to be undergone and more easily recovered, than the danger of losing the fleet, or the service of it, as I propose at this instant of time. Sir, I am

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

Kilkenny, April 30, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to P. Rupert.

May it please your Highness,

THE Gentleman, whose letter to my Lord of *Clanricard* I sent enclosed with mine to your Highness, I am most confident had not the least intention to fix any part of that business upon your Highness's commands; however the true sense of his English may be so construed. This I say out of my experience of that phrase here, by which is only understood, that he was so told by his kinsman: and this explanation I am persuaded the Gentleman will make of himself, and humbly beg your pardon. I have sent to my Lord of *Clanricard* to enter a little farther into the examination of that business for your Highness's satisfaction, and for a necessary discovery of such as shall be found fit to be punished; whether Sir *Theobald Bourke*,

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Bourk, or any other, for making such bold use of *A.D. 1649*
your Highness's name.

I am assured from *Dublin*, that there is not now there ten days provision of bread ; and that if that harbour were but blocked up, they must necessarily fall to nothing immediately. This, in my duty to the King's service, and to your Highness, I thought fit to let you know, that in case there be any possibility of sending ships to that purpose, it may be seasonably done ; but of that I presume not to determine. Mr. *Fanshawe* came not hither till after Mr. *Legg*, by whom I had first some intimation of *Vangary's* business, which I doubt he is mistaken in, both in the man and in the fittingness of attempting any such thing, as matters now stand. Mr. *Legg* will acquaint your Highness with what we have lately heard out of *France*, and with what farther is humbly offered by

Your Highness's most faithful

and most humble Servant,

Kilkenny, May 7,
1649.

ORMONDE.

P. Rupert to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship may be assured of all the supplies and assistances our ships can afford you : but I must intreat your Lordship to consider the great charge the Fleet is at, and if we lose this opportunity of providing for her, it is to be feared we may be hindered by a far greater strength than yet appears. The least squadron we now send out must be of five ships ; three we can leave behind, fitted
B b 4 with

A.D. 1649 with all but men, which shall be ready to do the service here. I intend with the first opportunity to go to *Waterford*, my ship being fitted. From thence I shall not fail to receive your commands. Mr. *Fanshawe* can give your Lordship an account, how low we are in matter of monies: it is not possible for us to furnish you with such a sum as his Majesty's warrant expresses. I am, &c.

RUPERT.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I INTEND to send the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Edward Hyde* as my ambassadors into *Spain*, where I hope they will effect much for my service, and will hold due correspondence with you. I have already advertised you, that the King of *Portugal* will grant to my Fleet the liberty of the port of *Lisbon*, and other ports of that kingdom; and that he hath sent one of the Irish nation, called *Domingo de Rosario*, into *Ireland*, who comes privately, and with no avowed quality. You may treat and agree with him upon such things as you shall judge necessary for the kingdom of *Ireland*, but so that the treaty be carried very privately, and no offence be thereby given to the King of *Spain*, from whom I expect much more than from *Portugal*.

I have likewise advertised you, that I have appointed the Earl of *Brainford* to send you out of *Sweden* 1000 horse-arms, 900 pistols, and a quantity of powder, which I believe will be about 100 barrels, with match proportionable, for which you are only to pay the freight when it arrives in *Ireland*. I find little help from the States, but am resolved to move from hence in a very few days to

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Flanders, and from thence into *France*, to embarque A.D. 1649
in the South-west part thereof in some fit port for
Ireland. I have already obtained a considerable pro-
portion of arms in *Sweden*, which must be kept se-
cret; and I am trying all other imaginable ways for
men, arms, but especially money. The treaty with
the *Scots* Commissioners, for any thing that yet
appears, is not likely to end well.

You will receive duplicates of the several com-
missions and instructions I have given to Sir *Robert*
Stewart for the North of *Ireland*; which, accord-
ing to my information, I did conceive to be neces-
sary, and desire that you will so order it, that
there be no clashing between these commissions and
that formerly given to Major General *Monro*. I
rest

Your very loving Friend,

Hague, May 16, 1649.

CHARLES R.

You have in your army Colonel *Grady*, who is a
very honest man. Pray be kind to him for my
sake.

C. R.

The M. of Ormonde to the Queen.

Madam,

YOUR latest commands were those I received
concerning Sir *Robert Talbot* and Father *James*
Talbot; who tho' of a name and blood, have hither-
to very much differed in their ways; Sir *Robert* as
zealously promoting his Majesty's service, as the
other hath been industrious to hinder it: Yet since
your Majesty's goodness hath at once designed re-
ward and forgiveness, it shall be my care, as far as
lies in my power, to observe that method.

The condition of affairs here is as hopeful as can
be imagined, looking upon the present weakness
and

A.D. 1649 and distraction of our enemies, the affections and readiness to declare for the King of very many that are yet forced to live and serve under them; and upon some late successes we have had, both by force and by the voluntary surrender of places of importance into our hands. But on the other side some remaining repugnancies against his Majesty's authority, and the great and universal poverty in this kingdom, are great impediments to the advantage that might now be made out of those other conjunctures: yet I apprehend not these so much, as to occasion any alteration of my humble advices to his Majesty touching his coming hither; which, I am confident, though it should not relieve our wants by real supplies of money, will make them much more supportable, when he, for whom they are undergone, shall be an eye-witness of the cheerfulness of our sufferings: and his Majesty's presence will infallibly remove the contentions that remain amongst any pretending for him, or leave those that only make use of his name, as unable to prejudice his interest, as they will be excuseless. In this, as in my former advices to this purpose, I am not to be understood to have taken into my consideration any thing beyond the limits of my own charge, or what is obviously depending upon it; but hold it my duty to offer my humble conceptions, as part of the matter whereon his Majesty may think fit to frame his main design.

A relation of the state of things here, when the division is of so many parts, if I should make it more particular, would take up too much of your Majesty's time to read, considering the hourly changes we are to expect would require as frequent alterations in dispatches from

*Your Majesty's most faithful,
humble, and obedient Servant,*

Kilkenny Castle,

May 23, 1649.

ORMONDE,

The

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Edward Nicholas.

S I R,

WHAT with the continual motion I have been in to all parts of this kingdom, submitted to his Majesty's obedience, and what with my despair of your being still in *France*, I have not given thither such frequent accounts of the condition we were in, as might be necessary, and was my part to have done: nor shall I now put you to the unnecessary trouble of a retrospect into what hath passed, to shew you by what degrees and difficulties we are come to the state we are now in; but will briefly inform you of that what my hopes and fears are, and how grounded.

His Majesty hath now here, in several armies, at least ten thousand good Foot, and hard upon three thousand Horse; whereof some parties of the Irish forces have been and are still with good success employed upon service. By them all the places held for *Owen O Neale* in this province, except one far from us, are reduced, and he limited to *Ulster*, and one or two places in *Connaught*; his men dispersed, and he in a very inconsiderable condition. But I have the greatest difficulty in the world to keep those Irish together; the licence hitherto given them in their winter quarters, which being at large in the country, confused, and without the possibility of keeping them in any kind of discipline, makes any endurance, though but of ordinary marches and duty, insupportable to them, any longer than they are constantly furnished with money, which they can never be by the stock of this kingdom.

The army under the command of the Lord *Inchiquin* is but now drawing into the field, and is no less pressing for impossible sums of money than the other:

A.D. 1649 other: and though they have not such retreats to friends out of the field as the others have, and by reason of their having been continually garrisoned men are under more obedience; yet their discontent, even to mutiny, is more to be apprehended, since the effect of it must be at the best a running away to the English enemy. To prevent this by all possible provision for both, I am tied here, losing most hopeful opportunities, and giving *Jones* time to solicit and expect supplies from the Rebels, whilst it is most apparent that one Ten thousand pound, or less together, would now carry *Dublin* (and in consequence the whole Kingdom) with the help of the good affections of very many there, which by the delay may cool in them, or be ineffectual, if force and provision be sent out of *England*.

To this of want there is added another no less troublesome interruption, though arising from an excusable emulation in the Irish and English touching their past and present faithfulness, and power to contribute towards restoring his Majesty; which yet takes up much of my time to keep from growing to more hurtful differences: and whilst I study to dispense my care and kindness to them with indifferency, hinders the advantage might be made of both, and makes my life a perpetual vexation. It is true, among the Irish there are many traiterously inclined, I fear, to the degree of being content to receive conditions from the Rebels of *London*; but there are others, and much the greater number, of fixed faithfulness to the King's cause. The other army (as my Lord *Inchiquin* assures me) is freed of all that were liable to any suspicion; and I am most confident he is as able to discover, as he will readily prevent, any contrivance amongst them. Now though this discord and our wants may seem great impediments, yet I am not without
good

good hope of overcoming both in such measure, as *A.D. 1649* shortly to reduce *Jones* to the limits of his line about *Dublin*, wherein he cannot long subsist, if he be not powerfully and presently supplied with men and provisions: which to prevent, I have moved Prince *Rupert* to send a Squadron of the fleet to block up that harbour. But his want of men to man the whole fleet at once, and the necessity that part of it should look out for purchase to support the whole, will (I fear) lose us that help.

I have no very frequent intelligence out of the North of *Ireland*. When I heard last thence, the Scots and Colonel *Monck*, who governs there for the Rebels, were at a distance about the taking of the Covenant, which the Presbytery, the great rulers of that country, pressed him unto, but he refused. I wish well to the continuance of the contention, but know not how to pray for success to either side; though my Lord of *Ardes* (who is Principal, and made head of the Presbyterians there) hath not only assured me by letter, that he is without condition or reserve resolved to serve the King, but hath sent for a commission to be made use of when he dares avow it; which, I fear, will not be, till *Scotland* by one means or other be persuaded to leave out of their declarations their usual destructive reservations.

In that part of the North where *Londonderry* is seated, they have proceeded upon clearer grounds and to more smart action, having proclaimed the King as he ought to be, and besieged Sir *Charles Coote* in *Derry*, whither for their assistance I have sent Sir *George Monro* with a good party mixed with English, Scots, and Irish.

Just now I receive the inclosed advertisements out of the North; whereupon I have not time to discourse, but leave the use to be made of them to your judgment.

I know

A.D. 1649

I know not what negotiation of high importance his Majesty may now have abroad, and therefore cannot take upon me to determine, whether or no delay be preferable to his speedy coming hither: whereof what my opinion is in relation to his affairs here, you will find by this extract of my letter to our Queen. Those objections you made against his sudden coming, upon the alteration of his condition from Prince to King, were very material: but the remedies for these inconveniencies are more easily found out, than any can be for such as arise by his absence. But if by his Majesty's continuance abroad an alliance might be speedily contracted, such as would give him ready and considerable supplies of money, with a constant stock of reputation and support, and in the mean time an earnest of the reality of such a treaty expressed by succouring his Majesty's affairs now on foot, that were indeed an occasion worthy his detention. This I mention, because I hear of two alliances now spoken of, one with *Spain*, the other with *Sweden*. What that with *Spain* can be, if the Daughter of that Crown be disposed of, I know not; nor am I, who have looked little beyond the threshold of my own charge, a competent discourser upon such mysteries of state: yet to you I will venture to say thus much, leaving you to make use of it to his Majesty as my sense, if you judge it reason and any thing material; That I have (I confess) vulgarly heard much of the great dexterity (to call it no worse) of *Spain* in treaties, and observed their Ministers both in *England* and here, countenancers of the late Rebels of both kingdoms more than any other, and am therefore afraid of their subtilty, as I am of their grave circumspection and delays, which (as the case stands with our King) is not a less certain way of destroying all his hopes. What the power of *Spain* may be, or how that power may be balanced

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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lanced by the dislike of *France* at such a match, I ^{A.D. 1649} speak not of; no more than I can do of the present plenty or power of *Sweden*. But if by the late peace with the Emperor, that Crown be as able, as it is at leisure, to undertake the King's quarrel, I should not only believe them a people more easily understood in treaty, but the match more popular and conducing to his Majesty's main end, as they are Protestants, and yet far from the equally destructive principles of Sectaries and rigid Presbyterians. The sense of the best of these latter you will find in an address made, or to be made, to his Majesty from them in *Ulster*, a copy whereof is herewith inclosed. I rest

Your most affectionate Servant,

*Kilkenny Castle,
May 29, 1649.*

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

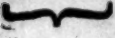
SINCE my last letter referring to Mr. *Legg's* relation of the state of your Majesty's affairs here, divers places have been reduced, and many given up by well-affected Officers hitherto serving with *Jones*. There now remains in the Rebels hands only *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, *Trim*, and *Dundalk*; *Ballysanon*, though one of their strongest holds, I reckon not, because I have left it about twenty miles behind me blocked up by thirty horse, and as many foot placed in two or three little castles near it; so that it must of necessity in a short time fall of itself, if *Jones* be not able to remove me from where I lye within two miles of *Dublin*, as I do not see how it is possible he should, as long as I can get

A.D. 1649 get wherewithal to subsist ; unless the great supplies of horse, foot, and provisions they brag to be ready to come with *Cromwell*, arrive very speedily. Whilst I lye here with about 5000 foot and 1510 horse, the Lord *Inchiquin* with about as many horse and 2000 foot hath blocked up *Drogheda*, and with the help of Colonel *Mark Trevor*, who hath declared for your Majesty, is at this time attempting the surprisal of *Dundalk*, of Colonel *Monck*, and a considerable magazine of arms, ammunition, and soldiers clothes within it. If that succeed, *Drogheda* will easily and (by God's assistance) quickly be reduced by force ; at the worst, a very few horse and foot garrisoned about it will keep those in it from disturbing our attempts upon *Dublin*, and as few will serve to put *Trim* into the same state. Sir *George Monro* with a party of 1600 foot and dragoons, and about 100 horse, wherewith I furnished him, is gotten towards *Carricfergus* and *Belfast* without opposition : and so many of the Scots are joined to him, that he is now said to be 4000 foot and 600 horse. Yesterday was (as I am advertised by Colonel *Trevor*) appointed for a meeting betwixt *Monro* and some intrusted by the country and soldiers of the North, to conclude upon what conditions they are to submit to your Majesty, and engage against the Rebels ; the Independent Presbyterians (for so they now distinguish the worst of them) being fled, I believe, into *Scotland*.

To this hopeful condition it hath pleased God to bring our endeavours in your Majesty's service : and I hope it will be no presumption upon the Divine Providence thus far blessing the justice of your Majesty's cause, humbly to desire that your Majesty would consider how the total reduction of this kingdom may be best improved and made use of towards the regaining of your other dominions ; and that you would be pleased so to prepare for it by

assurances

assurances from abroad, and intelligence at home, *A.D. 1649* that we may have no idle time here; which may minister occasions of division and new quarrels betwixt those that are but newly friends, and that have I doubt such differing and incompatible hopes and interests, as can never possibly be determined by your Majesty, nor safely by your Majesty, till you be a free and powerful umpire. It is easily foreseen, that upon the full subduing of those that hold in this kingdom for the Rebels in *England*, and before those heretofore of the confederate party will consent to the sending away or disbanding of any considerable number of their best men, they will expect a confirmation by act of Parliament of what they have gained by the late peace: and it is to be feared that their Clergy will not rest there, but will press for such enlargement in point of ecclesiastical livings and jurisdiction (the true and original ground of the Irish rebellion) as may not consist with your Majesty's honour, safety, or conscience to allow them. Yet I conceive it is not impossible, but that your Majesty, by securing to the generality by Parliament, and by some particular instances of bounty and trust, what is already granted (which carries with it all reasonable advantages and security as to temporal interests, and very large freedoms for the exercise of their religion) may so far gain upon them, that it will not be difficult to carry them to what new action your Majesty shall please, and yet not entangle your self in such farther new concessions to them, as may lose the hearts of the Protestants, without whom your Majesty's work here, much less in *England* and *Scotland*, is not to be done. For I should not think it more easy for the Clergy to persuade the people (how great soever the dominion is they have over their consciences) to reject certainties of so much advantage to them and their posterities, to strive with so great

A.D. 1649  improbability of success, for the Clergy's particular profit and ambition, than it will be for others to let them see not only the desperate folly of such an election, and how little they have yet done towards their own preservation, if they be now remiss in assisting your Majesty, or shall insist upon such conditions for their help, as will lose more than is gained by it; but also how great a breach of public faith it will be to refuse those due fruits of their obedience, for want of such destructive enlargements to which your Majesty is no way obliged. And though they should be so far infatuated as not to see their own good in these considerations, yet at the lowest rate of prudence that can be allowed to creatures of reason, it must be presumed, they will be content to leave the matter undecided, whilst they possess a great part of what is contended for, and are put into the way of meriting whatever they aspire unto. And in this state it is possible the Protestants may be content to leave what is in question, relying upon your Majesty's known piety and gracious intentions towards them.

How this Parliament can be without your Majesty's presence, considering some laws of force in this kingdom, I cannot see; nor any assurance, without a Parliament, of sending any considerable body of Irish hence with the consent of those intrusted by them to see to the performance of the conditions with them: and unless the greater number be of them, the Protestants interested here will not hold it safe that any number of themselves be sent. Yet if your Majesty holds your stay in foreign parts, or your descent in any other of your dominions before your coming hither, most for your advantage, I shall upon knowledge thereof, and of what forces your Majesty expects from hence, use my uttermost endeavours to prepare them to be shipped. But if I must do it so much against the
liking

liking of all parties, I must be furnished with the ^{A.D. 1649} greater proportion of money, besides arms and ammunition; and have timely notice where they are designed to land, under whose charge they are to be put, and when they are to be ready.

That which I apprehended as the greatest difficulty to compass, and without which the little we have done could not have been effected, is now (next God's assistance) become the ground of my greatest confidence of future success; and that is, the cordial conjunction of the English and Irish against the Rebels; their former disaffection appearing only now in an emulation, rather of advantage than hindrance to your Majesty's service: but action being once ceased, that emulation will convert to a dispute who hath done most, and may expect the greatest reward; and from thence if they be not held busied, it must proceed to a dangerous overvaluing of and repining at any favours or bounties of your Majesty's, though dispensed with never so much justice and equality. So that I beg leave again to beseech your Majesty to think and prepare for what is to be next attempted; the rather, for that such forecast and preparation will not be wholly lost, though it should please God to retard the subduing of the Rebels here, but may, in what proportion your Majesty shall think fit, be applied unto the finishing of it.

Since I began this letter, I have heard of several encounters Lord *Inchiquin* hath had with the Rebels of *Drogheda*, who attempted to break through towards *Dundalk*, but were still repulsed with loss. I have now sent thither some pieces of battery, with which he makes little question in a few hours to reduce that place. I have, I may give your Majesty assurance that it is done, before this letter is put in cypher.

A D. 1649 P. S. Just now I understand, that last night Lord *Inchiquin* caused two of the gates of *Drogheda* to be set on fire, the walls to be scaled, and 200 foot to enter the town; but they were forced out again by the horse; yet a few hours will, I hope, gain the town. I remain, &c.

Finglas, June 28,
1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE the sending away of my letter of *June 28* by Mr. *Legg*, all the Rebels horse in this province are scattered, or reduced to their line about *Dublin*, where they now have of all sorts about 500 mutinous discouraged horse; and of these some come hourly to us, as do many of their foot. *Drogheda* was rendered upon conditions, one of which being, that such as would should march with the Governor (one *Foulks*) unto *Dublin*, of about 700 foot and 255 horse, he was attended into the City with no more than 35 horse, and about 100 foot, the rest having taken conditions to serve your Majesty. *Drogheda* thus given up to Lord *Inchiquin*, he prepared for the siege of *Dundalk*, where *Monck* governs, and being on the 15th of this month upon his march thither, he had the intelligence and success your Majesty will find in the inclosed copy of his letter and list of prisoners. Besides the disappointment of a dangerous diversion intended by *Owen O Neile*, the clear evidence of *Monck's* joining with those Rebels, and that doubtless by approbation, if not direct injunction, of those in *England*, will (I hope) prove of great advantage to your Majesty's service.

If

If it shall please God that *Dundalk* shall be reduced, it is then intended immediately to draw closer to *Dublin* (leaving *Trym*, an inland garrison, blocked up) and, if it be possible, to take the sea from them: which if we can effect, the mutinies already within will increase with their despair of relief, and that probably to a degree of forcing their Governor to yield; at the worst, the soldiers will have greater cause and fitter opportunity to quit him, and he will soon be reduced to an inconsiderable number. That which only threatens any rub to our success is our own wants, which have been and are such, that soldiers have actually starved by their arms, and many of less constancy have run home: yet upon a view yesterday taken, we are about 5000 foot and 2000 horse here, besides 1200 horse and 2000 foot about *Dundalk* and *Trym*. Many of the foot are weak, but I despair not to be able to keep them together, and strong enough to reduce *Dublin*, if good supplies of all sorts come not speedily to relieve it. I am confident I can persuade the one half of this army to starve out-right, and I shall venture far upon it, rather than give off a game so fair on our side, and so hard to be recovered if given over.

Thus your Majesty has the state of your affairs in this province. That of *Ulster* will best appear to your Majesty by the copies of late letters and papers received thence, and the answers returned thither, herewith inclosed: And that of *Connaught* by those from the Marquis of *Clanricard*, who hath for your Majesty's service contended with unspeakable difficulties, besides that of an infirm constitution of health, and hath at length reduced that whole province; from whence I now hope to draw a considerable party of horse and foot, to supply the declining strength of these troops. If *Cromwell* come

A.D. 1649 over (as from many, and some of those good hands, we hear that he will) I shall more fear his money than his force; and both much the less, if *Dublin* be first your Majesty's. Yet it is my duty to let your Majesty know, that I exceedingly apprehend the revolt of very many of all nations, if he bring or send money; and that we have none but what we force from this exhausted kingdom: and that in case your Majesty find *Cromwell*, or any other from the Rebels is sent, or ready to be sent so provided, it is my humble sense, that your Majesty should not expose your person to the hazard and dishonour it may be subject unto, if you come utterly unprovided; but that rather we be left to undergo the hazard, and strive with the difficulty, at least till the event of *Dublin*, that of the Rebels ships now strong upon this coast, and of the design in *England* upon this kingdom be discovered. If this appear to your Majesty to thwart my former earnest advices for your Majesty's speedy coming over, I humbly desire it may be considered how long it is since those advices were offered, what alterations have since happened in relation to your Majesty's fleet and the Rebels, and how much their condition is mended both in that and by the appeasing of those distempers amongst themselves, that promised a diversion of their care and power; and that this change of opinion proceeds only from my apprehension of your Majesty's personal danger.

As I had written thus far, I received a letter from Lord *Inchiquin*, advertising his reducing of *Dundalk*, and his hopes of *Trym* to be as your Majesty will find by an extract of his letter, and of the conditions of surrender. We do not find the magazines there so considerable as we hoped; yet some help they will give us towards the work of *Dublin*;

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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Dublin; whereof by the grace of God I hope shortly to give your Majesty a good account. *A.D. 1649*

Your Majesty's, &c.

From the Camp at *Finglass*,
July 18, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Digby.

My Lord,

BECAUSE it is possible you may not be where the King will receive the dispatch I send herewith, I will give you a brief account of our condition. I lye here with about 6000 foot and 2000 horse, keeping *Jones* in very good order within his lines, and giving my Lord *Inchiquin* opportunity quietly to walk about, taking in all that remains untaken, with some guns. He is now near *Trym*, or *Attbody*, places that cannot hold out; yet, if they should be obstinate, I have ordered them to be left blockt up, that we may approach nearer *Dublin*, and if we can prevent the possibility of relieving it by sea, I believe they will quickly capitulate. My Lord of *Clanricard* has reduced *Connaught* intirely, by taking *Sligoe* and another castle, which was all that the Rebels had in that province. In *Ulster* they hold only *Londonderry* and a place called *Ballyshannon*. *Derry* is besieged by Sir *Robert Stewart*, *Audley Mervin*, and others; but, I confess, I understand not perfectly the submission of that province, that fatal ingredient of the Covenant having still some mixture in it. *Munster*, I hope, is secured against invasion, or treachery, which was more to be feared, as that without the other will not probably be attempted. If it please God to continue our success to the total reduction of the kingdom,

C c 4

4.D.1649 dom, I foresee no small trouble in keeping things quiet; though the brush *Owen O Neile* has had will be a very good help towards it. That which would best secure us would be to be immediately transported on some other good design; but how that can be without good supplies of money, or whilst the Rebels are so strong at sea, I know not. I have abated of my earnestness in the particular that was the subject of your letter from *Caen*: not that I can comprehend what else is to be done, which is not so properly my care, or that the advantage of what I formerly advised in relation to this Kingdom seems less to me; but merely in consideration of the danger which is now encreased beyond what it then was. The bearer can inform your Lordship of the particulars of our success, and will tell you of his own employment, which is as necessary to be forwarded by all possible recommendations thence, as any negotiation of that kind can be. If you come hither, your Lordship's little apartment over the coach-house may again be fitted for you, or a larger in the city provided. *Leslip* is blown up, but *St. Catharine's* stands; and you know who has left his trusty *Roger* behind him: but the book he swore by is the same. I am very certainly

Your Lordship's, &c.

Finglas, 19 July, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THE victory gained by the Rebels army at *Dublin* will come to your Majesty's knowledge (I believe) first by the Diurnals, and in them the number of prisoners taken will be more certain than I have

have means to make it, *Jones* having delayed to A.D. 1649
 send me a list, though desired by a trumpet. The
 number of soldiers there slain, I believe, his relation
 will make more than in truth they were; very
 many of them being such as were only fustlers and
 other hangers on. I deny not but the defeat was
 full and general, and to the Rebels so seasonable,
 that without it in all probability a few weeks had
 reduced *Dublin*, unless relieved by the threatned
 invasion. I shall not go about to assign any reason
 for this misfortune, that may seem to lessen my
 share of it; hoping your Majesty will believe, that
 as I employed my uttermost diligence and power to
 prevent it, so I shall now spare no pains that may
 frustrate the advantage the enemy may make of it.
 And to this, when I found it impossible to reco-
 ver the day, I first bent my thoughts by sending a
 regiment of foot to *Drogheda* and another to *Trym*,
 both such as had not been in the fight; making all
 the haste to this place, to rally what I could of the
 army, and to make provision for them. Which
 having now in some proportion effected, I go hence
 to morrow towards those places, and if we can pre-
 serve them, I shall esteem this summer service to
 have concluded with advantage to your Majesty,
 and *Dublin* not much less distressed and in need
 of succour, than when we lay nearer to it.

That which is most to be apprehended is, the
 effect this disaster may have upon some newly de-
 clared for your Majesty, and the advantage to be
 made of it by divers both Irish and English, that
 wished for such an occasion to set on foot their de-
 sign of perverting the people. Against this I have
 prepared and sent away all the preventatives I
 could think effectual, and am hastening where I
 conceive my presence most needful: from whence I
 shall be able to give your Majesty more certain
 knowledge how far and upon whom this defeat
 hath

A.D. 1649 hath wrought. I shall have with me about 2000 horse, and I hope soon after me 3 or 4000 foot, leaving *Munster* secured as it is.

All my cyphers and most of my other papers are at the best destroyed, so that I dare not venture to write upon the subject of my last letters by Captain *Talbot* : nor if I had them, should I dare to be positive in my opinion, till it appear what alterations this change of our condition will produce. Your Majesty cannot doubt but that supplies of any sort would now be most seasonable : but whether they come or no, I hope to keep the footing we have gained; and however to manifest my being

Your Majesty's, &c.

Kilkenny,
Aug. 8, 1649.

ORMONDE.

*The King's Warrant for the M. of Ormonde
to be Knight of the Garter.*

CHARLES R.

CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. and Sovereign of the most noble order of the Garter, to our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor *James*, Marquiss of *Ormonde*, &c. our Lieutenant in the kingdom of *Ireland*, greeting. Whereas our Royal Progenitors the Kings of *England* have in all times, since the institution of the most noble order of *St. George*, called the Garter, by our most noble and victorious ancestor King *Edward* the Third, elected and chosen into the fellowship thereof such Princes and other eminent persons, as well strangers as of their own subjects, as have for the nobility

bility and greatness of their births, accompanied *A.D. 1649*
 with heroick virtues, especially in martial actions,
 been thought worthy of the same: We therefore
 considering, that since the late horrid Rebellion in
 that our kingdom many of the companions thereof
 are dead, and that some others, contrary to their
 honour and oaths, have deserted their allegiance,
 and are no more worthy to be esteemed compani-
 ons of so noble an order; and finding how neces-
 sary it is for our service, and the honour of the said
 order, to elect others in the places vacant, who for
 their birth, courage, and fidelity may be worthy to
 be admitted thereinto: Know you therefore, that
 We, weighing the eminence of your birth and fa-
 mily, and above all the great and most extraordi-
 nary services done by you for many years past, and
 still continued in the condition of our Lieutenant in
 that our kingdom, together with your singular
 courage and fidelity, have thought it fit by our
 power, as Sovereign of the said order (dispensing
 with the usual ceremonies) to elect and choose you
 our said right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin,
James Marquis of Ormonde, to be Fellow and Com-
 panion of the said most noble order of the Garter;
 and do herewith send unto you the *George* and Rib-
 band, part of the ensigns thereof, by our trusty
 and well-beloved servant *Henry Seymour*, Esq; one
 of our Bed-chamber (in regard *Sir Edward Walker*,
 Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, the pro-
 per officer, is otherways employed in our service)
 the which we do hereby will and authorize you to
 wear. And because it is not possible at present to
 have all other ceremonies and additions incident to
 the same fully perfected, We do farther will and au-
 thorize you to wear and use your Garter or Ribband
 on your left leg; the Glory, or Star of Silver with
St. George's Cross embroidered within a Garter, upon
 your cloke or upper garments; as likewise the great
 Collar

A.D. 1649 Collar of the order, upon such days as are accustomed, to use the Garter about your Arms, and to style your self Knight and Companion of the said most noble order of the Garter, in as ample manner, as if you had been installed in our castle of *Windsor*, where (when it shall please God to restore us to the possession thereof) you shall formally be invested, and receive the habit and all other the above-recited Ornaments of the said most noble order. And we no way doubt, but as you have hitherto with singular courage, and fidelity, and ability served us, so you will still continue to do the same, as becomes a Knight and Companion of so noble an order. Given at the castle of *St. Germain's en Lay* this eighteenth day of *September*, in the first year of our reign, 1649.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

IN my letter of *Aug. 8.* I gave your Majesty the account I was then able to give of the beating up of the army from before *Dublin*. I have since seen in the Diurnal the relation sent by *Jones* to his masters, in *England*, wherein he varies little from the truth, as to the manner of the defeat; but for the numbers whereof he said your Majesty's army consisted, and of those slain, he makes both very many more than in truth they were, to magnify himself in the estimation of the Rebels. [The foot, according to the largest lists given in by the officers, amounting to no more than 7000, and the horse to about 1700; and of those I am sure more than 2000 were sick, and over-reckoned by the officers for gain and fear of reforming; besides the two regiments sent to *Drogheda* and *Trim*.] The army,

army, I am sure, was not 8000 effective men, and ^{A.D. 1649} of them it is certain there were not above 600 killed; and the most of them that were killed were butchered after they had laid down their arms upon promise of quarter, and had been for almost an hour prisoners, and divers of them murdered after they were brought within the works of *Dublin*: but much greater was the cruelty exercised by *Cromwell's* own command, against the desire even of his common soldiers, upon all he found alive in *Drogheda*, when after two repulses he had gained it by assailing a large breach.

The town, after *Jones* rose from before it upon my return with some forces into those parts, was governed by Sir *Arthur Aston*, and had in it above 2000 effective foot, and near 300 good horse, which was something more than the complete number desired by the Governor. It was sufficiently provided of victual and ammunition for a much longer time than it held out; and I was ready to have supplied it with more, and in all probability had done it, if it had withstood the assaults of that day; the place being seated upon a reasonable big river, which running through the town made it unsafe for them to lye on both sides, any longer than the ebb gave them passage over at a ford. But that to which the loss of that place may most reasonably be ascribed (next to God's good pleasure) was, that after the defeat before *Dublin*, almost all those of the army that had homes of their own or their friends to go to, were retired to them, and could by no industry be gotten together, and the surest men we had put into the town: so that the force I had with me, in the whole about 3000 horse and foot, consisted principally [of my own regiment of horse, whereof many were such as had come off from the Rebels in the time of our better fortune, the Lord *Moore's* and Sir *T. Armstrong's* regiments

A.D. 1649 regiments of horse, and] of such as had declared for his Majesty in the time of our better fortune, and when it was held incredible that the Rebels would or could be at leisure to make the conquest of this kingdom so much their business, as to spare hither so great a force, with such vast sums of money, and the confiding persons of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and others of that stamp. And of these our numbers daily diminished, by the revolt of some officers and many private soldiers, the rest shewing much dejection of courage, and upon all occasions of want, which are very frequent with us, venting their discontent in such dangerous words, that it was held unsafe to bring them within that distance of the enemy, as was necessary to have kept him united, and consequently one side of the town open to receive continual supplies. Thus was that place lost, and upon the matter with it all those gallant officers and soldiers, very few, and those of least consideration, being come off. What loss the Rebels have sustained we cannot yet certainly learn; but it is said, that 45 of their officers were killed, and above 1000 common soldiers, some say many more.

By this your Majesty may guess, and but guess, at our condition. For it is not to be imagined, how great the terror is that those successes and the power of the Rebels have struck into this people, who though they know themselves designed at best to the loss of all they have, and to irrecoverable slavery, and have yet numbers enough and other competent means to oppose, and, by the help of God, to prevent so miserable a fortune, are yet so stupified, that it is with great difficulty I can persuade them to act any thing like men towards their own preservation. What *Cromwell* will next do we can but conjecture, by what we conceive is best for him to do; and that I think is to advance to-
wards

wards *Kilkenny* as to the place of greatest reputation, *A.D. 1649*
 or else to *Wexford*, *Ross*, and *Duncannon* fort, which
 are sea-ports, whereunto he may transport his sub-
 sistence. He cannot but know, that none of all
 these places are able to hold out by their own
 strength, or by any that can be put into them,
 without the countenance of an army that may fight
 him upon passages; and that he believes impossible
 to be gotten by us; yet if he have received any
 considerable loss before *Drogheda*, or be in want of
 any thing that may retard him but ten days, as
 very well he may be, I hope by that time to bring
 together as many horse and foot as he can march
 forth with, leaving *Dublin* and *Drogheda* but rea-
 sonably garrisoned. With these, or whatever I can
 make, I shall be forced to hazard a day with him
 in the most advantageous place I can light on, else
 all the places he shall but appear before will yield
 upon the first summons: and if he be suffered to
 advance towards *Cork*, and those other places held
 by those formerly under the Lord *Inchiquin's* com-
 mand, he will find them as weak as any, and I
 doubt more willingly ready to submit to him. Our
 greatest security (next to God's protection and the
 strength of our army) is the approaching hard sea-
 son of the year, that will in all likelihood encrease
 our advantage upon passages, and in so wasted a
 country as he must march through, expose his men
 to the endurance of unusual hardships; so that if
 we can keep what we yet have till what remains of
 the summer be over, I presume your Majesty will
 have leisure all this winter to prepare for the next
 year's service. And it may not now be long be-
 fore your Majesty may have such a relation of the
 condition this kingdom is like to continue in till the
 next spring, as may guide your counsels touching
 your Majesty's coming into it. We have now great
 hopes given us, that *Owen O Neile* will submit to
 your

AD. 1649 your Majesty, and embrace the peace. If he do, and that cordially, it will be of great advantage to your Majesty's service, not only by the addition of his forces, which are become more considerable than they were by our misfortunes, but in regard to that quietness and unanimity it will produce in all the Roman Catholick subjects; there being then no head, whereunto such of them as are maliciously discontented at your Majesty's government can have any secure resort.

I can yet hear nothing of the arms and ammunition mentioned in your Majesty's letters of the 4th and 16th of *May*. One of the greatest advantages the Rebels have always had against us is in the goodness of their arms, and the proportion of their ammunition; and that advantage is now much more by the expence of so much of our ammunition, and by the loss of so many and those of the best arms this kingdom had. Such as I now gather are very bad, and, which is worse, not ten in an hundred of one bore. The town of *Galway*, where those arms were designed to land, hath been for a good while infested with the plague, and so continues. Your Majesty may therefore be pleased to appoint their landing about *Waterford* or *Limerick*, but rather *Limerick*, if they be not already at sea.

Those entrusted by the Confederates to see to the performance of conditions with them, are so sensible of the danger they are in, and so knowing in the poverty of the kingdom, not possibly able upon any thing within itself to maintain a war against *England*, that they have consented, for the getting of money, that any of your Majesty's sea-towns or ports, which are in their power, may be given as caution for the repayment of what sum your Majesty can borrow. And certainly if money cannot otherways be had, and may upon that condition, I humbly conceive it is not to be stuck at.

possible

possible my Lord of *Muskery* may shortly be employed to your Majesty with a more particular state of this proposition, whereof I held it my duty to give your Majesty this foreknowledge, that it neither might come unexpected, nor that any time should be lost in laying the ways of procuring the money, in case your Majesty hold it fit to be this way endeavoured.

As I had written thus far, I received your Majesty's of *Aug.* 28. and with it assurance by the Gentleman that brought it, that your Majesty is safely arrived at *Jersey*. One part of your commands in that letter, namely, a knowledge of the present state of affairs here, your Majesty is partly obeyed in by what I have already written. Yet since thereupon, and upon my weak opinion, your Majesty intends to form a resolution touching the disposal of your person, I shall beg leave to be more particular in the one and circumspect in the other, beseeching your Majesty as you give credit to the former, so by it (and not by my very dark insight into so weighty an affair) to determine the latter. I conceive the state of affairs here must be collected out of the strength and condition of the enemy, opposed to that of those appearing for your Majesty. The Rebels strength is by themselves accounted 12000 foot and 4000 horse; those that speak lowest allow them to be 10000 foot and 3000 horse (not reckoning their force at *Londonderry*, which rather are in need of men, considering the country they would master, than in case to afford them any other help than the diversion of forces we might otherwise draw to us.) These are as well provided for as they themselves can wish, and as full of insolence, as victory and the lowest contempt of an enemy can make them. This provision and success hath tied the faith of the officer and soldier to them beyond any hope of withdrawing them, till God

A.D. 1649 please to abate their cause of pride either by raising some interruption to their farther supply out of *England*, or by stopping the progress of their arms here: and I conceive either of these would do both. But it hath been a remarkable unhappiness of late in your Majesty's and your Father's affairs, that such as have been set a work, or risen for them, have never kept time, but always the very last found of one was suppressed before another began. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this, perhaps impertinent digression.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

I RECEIVED your Majesty's of *Aug.* 28th by Captain *Cressy* on the 23d, and that of *Sept.* 9th by Colonel *Warren* on the 25th of this month: and shall hasten to obey your commands in both, as soon as I have told your Majesty, that Colonel *Jones*, in his letter to the Rebels his masters, tho' he hath not varied much from truth in the manner of the victory gained by him near *Dublin*, yet he made your Majesty's army above 10000 stronger than they were, and killed not above 600 soldiers and officers in all, and of those more than the half after they had upon promise of quarter laid down their arms, and some after they were within the works of the town. This cruelty was not to be exemplified but in *Cromwell*, who hath at the taking of *Drogheda* exceeded himself, much more than any thing I ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity. What was done for the preservation of that town, and to what the loss of it (next to God's good pleasure) may be attributed, I shall not at this time trouble your Majesty with; there being some hope

hope that I may have the honour to do it in a way *A.D. 1649*
less to your Majesty's trouble.

The parts of your Majesty's commands in both your letters, and in the message by Colonel *Warren*, whereunto you command me to give credit, were to give you an account of the present state of affairs here, and my opinion touching your Majesty's coming into this kingdom. The first, Sir, is briefly thus: The Rebels are strong in their numbers, exalted with success, abundantly provided with all necessaries, like to want for nothing *England* can afford them, and, in the pride of all this, are either marched out, or ready to march out to pursue their victories. On the other side to withstand them, our numbers are inferior, discouraged with misfortunes, hardly and uncertainly provided for; the people weary of their burdens, wavering in their affections, through the advantage taken to pervert them by those disloyally inclined, and our towns defenceless against any considerable attempt. After such a stating of our condition, your Majesty may wonder, that in obedience to the latter part of your commands, I who in my opinion concerning the hazarding your person into this kingdom was doubtful, or rather plainly against it, only upon fallible resolutions taken of *Cromwell's* coming over, before the defeat near *Dublin*, which made easy the better half of his work in this kingdom, and before the loss of *Drogheda* with above 2000 of our best foot, and above 200 horse, should now change my opinion, and hold it absolutely for your Majesty to appear here in person.

This seeming preposterous change proceeds not from a less care of your Majesty's safety; but from a greater desire of your glory, consisting in your being restored to your kingdoms by the blessing of God upon your immediate conduct of your affairs and armies; for which by a special providence they

A.D. 1649 seem to be reserved, and without which it is evident not only to me, but to all that for faith and judgment I hold capable of such a debate, that this kingdom will very shortly eject all signs of obedience to your Majesty, and revert to the condition it was in when your Majesty commanded me hither, or rather to a much worse. For all such as have contributed towards the restitution of your Majesty's government in the conclusion of the last peace, and would persevere to the end in their loyalty, will now infallibly in the first place be singled and marked forth for destruction. So that if your Majesty conceive the preservation of any footing in this kingdom may be at any time necessary towards the recovery of the other two, it can (reasonably speaking) be no other way hoped for, than by your presence; and by that it may. When there was a possibility of reducing this kingdom without this, or any personal hazard to your Majesty, and that by the reduction of it your Majesty might have had no more to do, but to command the transportation of an army hence on any design more worthy the venture of your person than this then seemed to be, and that I saw it was needful to put something upon unequal trial, rather than abide the threatened invasion, I held it my duty to dissuade your Majesty to come in at the end of our success, when it was to be feared the formidable forces then designed, and since come against us, would give a check unto it. But now that the Rebels are so exalted in their pride, even as high as success and the lowest contempt of an enemy can raise them, and that any check given by your Majesty to them will hazard the ruin of their usurpation, and the restoring of your Majesty, it will be ruin to them, if the progress of their arms be but stopped, and to your Majesty infinite honour to have attempted it with such disadvantage, whatever the event be. Yet I should

should not dare to advise the purchase of it at a too ^{A.D. 1649} desperate rate, nor your coming into this kingdom, if I did not believe your Majesty may have as safe a residence here and retreat hence, as I can conceive that in or from *Jersey* to be.

I have received your Majesty's letters touching *Owen O Neile*, both by *Talbot* and *Nugent*. The latter pretends greater power with that party than methinks any thing I can find in him should promise: however having shewn some kind of authority from *Owen O Neile* to your Majesty, I have dispatched him away with what contents him fully. *Talbot* likewise I will send, though I believe him no graceful man amongst them, and therefore I have delivered him to be entirely governed by *Daniel O Neile*, who was sent to treat with his uncle about the last of *August*, and hath yet given me no other account of his success, than your Majesty will find in the copy of his letter herewith sent.

The safest place for your Majesty to land at is thought to be in the river of *Limerick*: but of this Prince *Rupert* will be best able to inform your Majesty, being now ready to set to sea: and I shall keep a frigate ready to give your Majesty intelligence of any considerable alteration of affairs that may concern your voyage; which, that it may be prosperous, is the hearty prayer of, &c.

Kilkenny, Sept. 27, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.

My Lord,

THE successive misfortunes befallen us have been almost the only subject that I could write of till I received your Lordship's of *Aug. 10*, which

A.D. 1649 is a large and profitable demonstration of the continuance of your favour and friendship to me.

It is to us that have been upon the place very evident, that the delay of his Majesty's coming, upon what ground and by what counsel soever proceeding, was a very great means that this kingdom was not entirely reduced before *Cromwell's* landing; and as clear it is to us now, that it will be totally lost as to his Majesty (whoever gets it, or however it may be divided) without he come speedily in person. The evidence of this hath prevailed with me positively to advise it, notwithstanding the desperate condition we are in; which yet I have stated in the softest complexion it will bear, that if any thing more useful or honourable than to keep some footing in this kingdom be in view, this may be laid aside.

It hath been a remarkable misfortune in the King's and his Father's affairs, that such as have risen for them have seldom kept time; but that still the very noise of one was suppressed before any other began. I pray God my Lord of *Montros's* appearing prove more seasonable.

I am infinitely obliged to her Majesty for her care to keep me in Prince *Ruperi's* good opinion. I shall be and have been industrious to gain his favour, and my endeavour therein has hitherto been successful: nor do I apprehend any danger of a change; his carriage towards me having been full of civility, as well in relation to my employment, as to my person. His Highness is of the same opinion with me concerning the King's coming.

I hope her Majesty will be diverted from so sad a retirement: I am sure it is the duty of all that wish well to the King's business to pray she may. I am, &c.

Sept. 29, 1649.

ORMONDE.

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A.D. 1649

The M. of Ormonde to the Lord Byron.

My Lord,

IT was the 25th of *September* before *Harry Warren* got hither. In his way he received assurance of his Majesty's being at *Fersey*, whither I now hasten my dispatch. By him also I understand, that one *Dillon* was safely landed in *France*, by whom I gave his Majesty the account I was then able to give of the defeat of his army near *Dublin*; which because (I find) *Jones's* letter to the Rebels his masters has represented in many things far from truth for his own advantage, I shall here give your Lordship a relation of it.

Some two or three days before the defeat, we had it from many good hands out of *England* and from *Dublin*, that *Cromwell* was at the sea-side ready to embarque for this kingdom with a great army, and that his design was for *Munster*, whence he knew we had drawn almost all the men fit for service, and where we were also assured he had intelligence, and which, if lost, not only the best ports of the kingdom would fall into his hands, but his Majesty's fleet riding in them blocked up with a mastering number of the Rebels ships would doubtless be lost; and those parts of the kingdom, whence we had our principal support for our army, would presently be mastered by him. So that if we had taken *Dublin* (which was very doubtful) and lost those parts (which it was very evident we should, if he landed there, as they were then guarded) it was but an ill exchange: but if those places were lost, and *Dublin* not gained, our army must inevitably have come to nothing, and the kingdom fallen to the Rebels without resistance. These considerations at a council of war produced

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these

A.D. 1649 these results; first, that the Lord *Inchiquin* with two regiments of horse and his own guards, almost as good as another, should then immediately march to secure that province of *Munster*; that the army should lye still where it was till *Rathfarnham* should be taken in, and that done we should remove to a securer quarter at a place called *Drumnagh*, not far from *Kilmainham*, if after the taking of *Rathfarnham* we found not cause to change that part of our determination. The next day, or the next day but one, *Rathfarnham* was taken by storm, and all that were in it made prisoners; and though 500 soldiers had entered the castle before any officer of note, yet not one creature was killed: which I tell you by the way, to observe the difference betwixt our and the Rebels making use of a victory.

It was then again taken into consideration what was to be done, and was held necessary we should possess a place called *Baginbun*, and fortify it: which, if effected, must necessarily have starved all their horse within, which by the access of new forces whilst we lay at *Finglas* were 1200: and besides, that place being once well fortified, it was easy thence to have approached so to the river side, that a work being cast up there, it would be impossible for any farther succour of men to have got into them. I should have told you that we had a strong party of horse and foot left on the other side of the river, which hindered their grazing that way, and hay they had none in the town. Hereupon it was ordered, that my Lord of *Castlehaven*, General *Preston*, and Major General *Purcell* should view the place, and, if they found it capable of strengthening in one night's work to secure men, then to cause men with materials to be sent as soon as it was dark. Accordingly the Major General conducted thither 1500 foot: but he met with so ill guides, that though it was within half a mile of

of our leaguer, he got not thither a full hour before day. I sat up myself all that night, as well to be ready to answer any falling out of the enemy, as to finish my dispatches then ready for *France*. And as soon as day broke I rode down to *Bagatratb*, where I found the place itself not so strong as I expected, nor the work at all advanced, and strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their works; yet they hid themselves the best they could behind some houses at *Lowfy-bill*, and in an hollow betwixt us and the strand. Hereupon I considered whether I had best go on with the work, or draw off my men: draw them off I could not without great danger, but by drawing near them the whole army; and doing that, their work might be as well countenanced as their retreat. Then I called to me the Majors General of the horse and foot, *Purcell* and Sir *W. Vaughan*, and shewed them where I would have the horse and foot drawn, desiring them accordingly to see it done, telling them and all the officers there, that I was confident *Jones* would hazard all to interrupt our work, which effected would so much annoy him. With these orders I left them, determining to refresh my self with a little sleep for the action I expected, and in my way to my tent I caused all the regiments to stand to their arms.

It was by this time about nine of the clock, and I had not slept above an hour, when I was wakened by volleys of shot, which I took to be much nearer me than *Bagatratb*. However, before I got an hundred yards from my tent, all those I left working were beaten out, and the enemy had routed and killed Sir *W. Vaughan*, and after him divers parties of horse drawn up in closes, into which the enemy could not come to them but through gaps and in files. This was the right wing of our army; and it was not long before I saw it wholly defeated,
and

A.D. 1649 and many of them running away towards the hills of *Wicklow*, where some of them were bred, and whither they knew the way but too well. Hereupon I went to the battalia, consisting of my Lord *Inchiquin's* foot, commanded by Colonel *Giffard*, with whose assistance I put them into the best posture I could; and desired my brother and Colonel *Reily* to stand in a field next these foot, where I left them till I should either come or send them orders. How they were forced thence, or upon what occasion they charged, I know not; but I soon after perceived the enemy's horse had gotten round, and was going through a lane [close by *Giffard's* foot, where I stood] to meet a party of foot of their own, that were coming up in the front of us. *Giffard's* foot gave good fire at them, and so disordered them, that had not the two regiments, which for that purpose I left there, been forced, or by some appearing advantage drawn off, but had charged those disordered horse in the rear, it is probable they had been driven over their foot; to which when they were come, they rallied by them, and with them advanced against us, who by this time were environed; another party of theirs of foot and horse being then coming behind us into the field we stood in, and giving fire both ways at us. At this, and at the running away of *Reily's* regiment, our foot were so discouraged, that they fought no more. On the contrary, I heard the enemy offer them quarter, and observed them inclinable to hearken to it. Then leaping over a ditch, I endeavoured to get to our left wing, hoping to find it firm: but they had no sooner apprehended and too well seen how the world went with the right wing and battalia, and had most of them horse and foot provided for themselves. It is true, that a great reserve of the enemy stood all this while facing them; which was the reason I

drew.

drew them not to the assistance of the rest of the army, and that made them think themselves desperate. Yet some of them I rallied; but as I advanced a step towards the enemy, they broke away behind me, even upon the sight of their own men running away, taking them for the enemy. A.D. 1649

When I had endeavoured several times and in several places to bring them on, and was still thus served, I gave it over, and bethought how to secure *Drogheda* and *Trym*; and immediately from an hill sent orders to Colonel *Warren* and Colonel *Wall* (who were of those that were left on the other side of the river) to march, *Warren* to *Trym*, and *Wall* to *Drogheda*, resolving to go my self to *Kilkenny* to rally all I could, and to make provision for the defence of what we had gained. And the day seven-night after the defeat I set forth again thence towards *Trym*. When I came there, I understood *Jones* was gotten before *Drogheda*; but upon knowledge of my coming he drew back to *Dublin*, tho' I had with me but about 300 horse. I then went to *Drogheda*, where I had been but a few days, when I was assured of *Cromwell's* being landed with a formidable army. Whereupon it was taken into consideration, whether that town should be kept or deserted. It was resolved it should be kept; and to that end held necessary to place in it a much greater force of men, and an experienced Governor. Sir *Arthur Aston* was pitched on to command, and above 2000 of our best foot and 250 horse were put in, 55 barrels of powder, with victuals for a much longer time than it held out. This done, I retired to *Trym*, thence to *Teeroghan*, and then again came forward to *Portlester*, to rally our forces, and to be within distance to relieve the place. At length *Cromwell* came before it with all his power, sending his cannon and victual by sea; and after a week's lying still, fell to batter on a *Sunday* (as I take

A.D. 1649 take it) *Sept.* 9. He continued his battery all *Monday* and *Tuesday*, till about four of the clock in the afternoon. Having made a breach which he judged assaultable, he assaulted it, and being twice beaten off, the third time he carried it; all his officers and soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performing it, as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word *no quarter* went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their wills to kill their prisoners. Sir *Edm. Verney*, Colonel *Warren*, Colonel *Wall*, and Colonel *Byrne* were all killed in cold blood, as was also the Governor, and indeed all the officers, except some few of least consideration, that escaped by miracle. The cruelty exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity, as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of *Amboyna*.

Immediately upon this I ordered the burning and quitting of *Trym* and *Dundalk*: but fear so possessed those in both places, that neither was so done, but that the Rebels have possessed them with garrisons, and are now marching with all their power towards *Wexford*; and I am to morrow marching that way to endeavour to save it from without, rather than from within.

Thus, my Lord, you have a confused relation, such as my memory and time will give me leave to make, of the successes God for our sins hath permitted the bloody Rebels to gain over us: which I intend only for your Lordship's private satisfaction, unless you find it needful for the justification of your friend to impart it to any other. I have not wittingly varied from the truth; and I am willing to give the true reason to an objection that may be made,

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made, why I endeavoured not to relieve *Drogheda*, *A.D. 1649*
by falling on the Rebels with the party I had on
one of the sides of the river, they being divided :
but if need be, that shall not be long concealed. I
forgot to tell your Lordship, that our strength was
not by 10000 such as *Jones* gave it out, and that
there was about 600 only killed. Prisoners they
have many ; and of those that were killed, the
better half were butchered an hour after quarter
given them, and some after they were brought
within the walls of the town. I shall now give
your Lordship no farther trouble, but rest, &c.

Kilkenny, 29 Sept. 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THE continuance of your gracious esteem of me,
and the manifestation of it by so high a mark
of favour, as that brought me by Mr. *Seymour* (not-
withstanding my unsuccessfulness in your service)
though it redoubles the sense of my misfortune to
have done so little for so good a master ; yet
as it gives evidence to the world, that your
Majesty believes I have discharged my duty ho-
nestly, it secures me against the worst effect the
prevailing of the Rebels can bring upon my
particular. I shall pray, that this great bounty
exercised towards so useless a servant, may let all
your subjects see, how madly they contend against
their own happiness, that would not have your
Majesty reign over them, and raise up multitudes
of

A.D. 1649 of as faithful, and all of them more fortunate servants, than

Your Majesty's most faithful

and most humble Subject and Servant,

Clonmell,
Nov. 27, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Edward Nicholas.

S I R,

THE loss of my papers near *Dublin* hath taught me to provide for their security hereafter, that they are at this time out of my reach; so that my dispatches by Mr. *Seymour* are barely of and upon the state of affairs here, and those things his Majesty commanded me to give my opinion in. To these, I presume, you will be no stranger; and to what may concern me, I have desired him to be free with you. I have held it unseasonable, and of little satisfaction, to entertain his Majesty with a narration of the most certain of all visible reasons that may be given for the falling of his business to the dangerous state they are at; the rather, that such discourses can never be so contrived by me, but that I must take too much of the blame to my self, or share it upon others that have been and may be useful to the King. Neither have I said any thing unto him upon what will doubtless fall into consideration, when the advantage this Kingdom may be of to his service shall be understood to be little or nothing; both because I was not called unto for it, and for that I may be thought an interested person, and biased by my engagement here. What I intend is a treaty with *Scotland*; against

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against which I at no time was, and much less now *A.D. 1649*
am. My sense being, that whatever any extremity at any time can induce the King to descend unto for their satisfaction, should be now: and if I were qualified, by a clear knowledge of the whole frame of the King's affairs every where, and commanded thereupon to deliver my opinion, I think, I should hardly make it more particular. I hold it needless, especially by this bearer, to tell you how highly I value your friendship, and how really I am

Your most affectionate Servant,

Clonmell, Nov. 3, 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.

My Lord,

I CANNOT entertain you with any thing from hence, that I believe pleasing unto you. The King's business here hath declined with incredible speed, beyond any reason that can be given for it. Towns have declared against us fifty miles distant from any enemy, but those within them: and which is most remarkable, the Roman Catholicks that stood so rigidly with the King upon Religion, and that (as they called it) in the splendor of it, are with much ado withheld from sending Commissioners to intreat *Cromwell* to make stables and hospitals of their churches. An army we have superior in number to the enemy; but no industry of mine is able to provide so for it, as to keep it one week at once together. Yet some opposition we shall keep on foot; and if before we are quite subdued any diversion happen, much of what is lost may be recovered. I know not what assistance the
Scots

20.1649 Scots can have, that when *Cromwell* has done his work here, they shall be permitted to be a Kingdom or younger State so near them; nor that a diversion here will be altogether useless to them: yet they look on his victories in this kingdom, not as unconcerned; but partaking in the advantage of them. If we had only our interest and safeties to consult, it is possible they might be as well secured upon their ruine, as theirs upon ours: and really that we do it not, is the strongest evidence we are able to give of our unalterable resolutions to adhere to the King's cause without and against self-ends or resentments. I know not how I fall upon this subject, but for want of some other. The state of affairs being with you I am sure at the same time with this, you must not wonder if you receive nothing from me by Major *Boswell*; the length and course of his journey permitting neither speed nor security. My Lord, I am still

Glennell, Nov. 30, 1649.

Yours, &c.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

IT were an unpardonable presumption in me to interpose my advice and humble suit in the particular of your electing servants and ministers of state, if I had not for excuse (besides some intimation that it would not be displeasing to your Majesty) the very passionate zeal I have borne, and shall ever bear, to your service.

The person I would now offer to your Majesty's consideration for one of your Secretaries is Sir *Edward Nicholas*, one approved by a long faithful service

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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service to your Royal Father, and of whose integrity, diligence, and ability I am certain he had a high esteem. I shall not deny but that my friendship to him is great: but that, as that had its first beginning by and in our late blessed Master's service, so is your Majesty's present service the principal incitement to this boldness: which therefore I beseech your Majesty to pardon in

Your Majesty's most faithful

and most humble Subject and Servant,

*Clonmell, Nov. 30,
1649.*

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE Mr. Seymour's dispatch, Cromwell is risen from before this city, and marched into Corke; where and in Youghall, Dungarvan, Kinsale, Bandon, and other places (all betrayed to him without one stroke struck) he intends to garrison the greatest part of his army for this winter. I am endeavouring first to regain some little places he hath left manned, that do much distress our principal towns, and then to garrison his Majesty's army in them, if I can prevail with the towns to receive them; wherein I find some difficulty through the natural distrust of the people, and by the use thereof made by my Lord of Antrim, who hath not ceased to the uttermost of his skill to disturb the minds of the people, and to render my Lord Inchiquin and me suspected of them; as will appear to your Majesty by his voluntary confession, if I may so call

A.D. 1649 what he chose rather to acknowledge in the presence of such as have borne witness to it, than privately to expostulate the matter with my Lord *Inchiquin*. What the nature of his offence is, is sufficiently apparent by his own confession; whereupon I had committed him, but that his Lordship upon good ground suspecting my intention, pretended sickness, and that I was advised to delay it, till the detection of his contrivement should have disabused those he had infected with it, and let them see the justice as well as necessity of proceeding against him. Yet in regard the aspersions he hath laboured to cast upon me may make what I do look like private revenge, I shall go no farther in that than the securing of his person, till I have received your Majesty's pleasure upon it; unless I be forced to it for prevention of some great mischief to your service.

Sir *G. Monro* being unable to raise the siege of *Carrickfergus* any other way than by diversion, marched into the *Laggan*, where he took in many places formerly betrayed to and forced by Sir *Charles Coote*. This in part took the effect aimed at; yet before Sir *Charles* rose, it was concluded, that if the place were not relieved by the 20th of this month, it should be rendered. Upon this agreement Sir *Charles* marched towards the relief of his party in the *Laggan*, and Sir *G. Monro* with his towards *Carrickfergus*, where coming before the 20th with the addition of force brought by my Lord *Montgomery*, and sent out of *Connaught* by my Lord of *Clanricard*, I hope the agreement with *Coote* is dissolved, and that province (with the help of 2000 foot and 400 horse I now send thither under the command of *Daniel O Neile* and *Mark Trevor*) in a fair way of recovery.

That which would most annoy the Rebels, and consume their men, and make the burden of this war

war insupportable to the people of *England*, were *A.D. 1649*
to make them draw out often this winter for the
rescue of some towns they have taken: but I am
disabled to do that, by the poverty of the country
and for want of ammunition, that though I mean
to endeavour it, yet I cannot hope to keep toge-
ther either so considerable a party, or that so long
as to do much that way; and the little I shall be
forced to do will so exhaust the country of provi-
sions, and our magazines of ammunition, that if
we be not supplied from abroad before the spring in
some measure with both, we shall be able to make
no defence, if the Rebels shall be at leisure to draw
out against us. This I hold it my duty to give your
Majesty timely notice of, to the end that during
this winter provision may be made, or that, if you
find that impossible, you should not be deceived by
relying on the bare name of a kingdom and armies
being at your command, when without those ne-
cessaries that can be of no consideration nor conti-
nuance. For many of the Irish having promised
themselves many advantages by their coming under
your Majesty's obedience, as the assistance of the
army formerly under Lord *Inchiquin's* command,
and the advantage of trade with the towns pos-
sessed by him; that your Majesty would be able in
part to ease them of the burden of the war, by
supplies of money, arms, and ammunition; and that
whilst the Rebels forces were bent against them,
occasion would be taken to raise some diversion
of them in *England* or out of *Scotland*; and finding
Lord *Inchiquin's* forces (which to their excessive
charge they had supplied all the summer) now
turned against them, and the towns become garri-
sons to their enemies, from whence to annoy them
by sea and land; no supply at all from abroad, and
no diversion in *England*, though *Cromwell* and *Ire-*
ton, the supposed heads of the Rebels, were re-

A.D. 1646 moved thence: all these disappointments of their hopes, aggravated by the enforced spoil of a successful army, begins to breed in them such aversion to your Majesty's authority, and to me, to whom all their misfortunes, the negligences, cowardice and treachery of others are attributed, that I am told it was in agitation with the violent party of the Clergy, and others set on by my Lord of *Antrim*, to procure a protestation against my Government: and whether any such thing may be set on foot at a congregation of their Bishops now sitting, I know not. This I do protest, that if your Majesty's honour and service were not concerned, I should not esteem my self unhappy, or much prejudiced, by having no more to do with a people that can be wrought upon by so shallow an engine as Lord *Antrim*. But till your Majesty thinks fit to recall the power you have trusted me with, I shall not willingly let it fall for their pleasure; though if it should be proceeded in by them, and opposed by me, their ruin, as well as of the party I may make to oppose their rebellion, will evidently be the issue of the contention.

I am earnestly solicited by divers natives of this kingdom, and some strangers trading here, and setting frigates to sea against the Rebels, to grant them letters of reprisal against Hollanders for goods taken by the subjects of that State before the peace here, whereof complaint hath been fruitlessly made to the States of *Holland*; and in consideration of these letters I am offered considerable assistances of money and ammunition towards the supply of the war here. Besides this damage sustained by your Majesty's subjects and others living and trading under your obedience here, I am told, the States have acknowledged the Rebels of *England* as a Commonwealth, and have entered into league with them; and I am sure the ships and other bottoms of *Holland*

land do bring hither both men and provisions to the relief of the Rebels: yet I have forborne to grant such letters, till I receive your Majesty's pleasure. But that time may not be lost, in case your Majesty should find it fit for me to grant such letters, I have sent them sealed up to Mr. Secretary *Long*, to be detained by him, or given again to those that seek for them. A.D. 1649

Your Majesty's, &c.

Waterford, 15 Dec. 1649.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THE meeting of the Romish Clergy is dissolved without any such protestation as by my last letters I told your Majesty I apprehended, and as I am confident was by some laboured. On the contrary, there were divers speeches made tending to the satisfaction of the people, and to incline them to obedience to your Majesty, and amity among themselves in opposition to the Rebels; and some acts of their congregation to this effect, I hear, are now in the press: which though they may contain some passages unfit in other times to have let pass, yet considering the present advantage they may bring to your service, and that your authority rather connives at than countenances them, I have thought it fittest for me to let them come forth as they are, rather than by stirring for some little amendments to interest your Majesty in any thing but the quiet they may produce.

Your Majesty will find by the copy of the Lord *Montgomery's* and Sir *G. Monro's* joint letter, the misfortune that befell them in their attempt to re-

A.D. 1649 lieve *Carrickfergus* ; and thereby your Majesty may account that province, if not wholly lost, yet in a low and desperate condition ; and that from thence this next summer we shall be strongly invaded : insomuch that it seems every day more evident than other, and will soon be visible to those of shortest foresight, that upon any thing this kingdom can alone afford, it will not be possible to make any resistance against the Rebels, who have the whole coast towards *England* (*Waterford* excepted) ready to receive their forces, commodious harbours for their shipping, and garrisons from whence they will immediately be in the heart of our best countries, and at the walls of our remaining towns. What thoughts of submission this may produce in this people, or the greater number of them, when they find no diversion in *England*, nor any relief to be hoped for, but that their ruin is certain and at hand, I know not. I therefore humbly desire, that your Majesty would be pleased to send me your commands to withdraw my self hence, that if by unavoidable necessity I be driven away, I may have the satisfaction as of coming, so of retiring by your Majesty's order : and if your Majesty think fit for the satisfaction of such as I shall endeavour to leave satisfied, that upon any renewed occasion your Majesty reserves thoughts of advantage to the kingdom in general, and particularly to such, of what condition soever, as have been faithful, and may be forced to a compliance with the Rebels for their own preservation ; I shall hope, even in that worst condition we can be driven to, to leave such a foundation for any new attempt as may prove more prosperous, whenever your Majesty is in a condition to set it on foot. As this is not moved but in case your Majesty can work neither diversion to the Rebels, nor assistance to us ; so certainly it shall be the latest and most irrecoverable extremity, accompanied

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panied with a desertion of people and of hope itself, *A.D. 1649*
that shall persuade me to make use of it.

Kilkenny,
Dec. 24, 1649.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord of Ormonde,

YOU will perceive by my publick letter, that I have resolved of a treaty with my subjects of *Scotland*, whereunto I was principally induced by that relation which *Harry Seymour* made to me from you, of the state of things in *Ireland*; and do believe that an agreement with them (if it may be had upon honourable and just terms) will be the likeliest means to make a speedy and powerful diversion in *England*. I have likewise written to my Ambassadors in *Spain*, to supply you with money and arms, if they can procure any from that King; and send you herewith a copy of the letter I have written to them for that purpose: and I have also sent into *Sweden*, to endeavour by the best means I may, to procure the arms at *Gottenbergh* to be conveyed to you, and will not fail to use my utmost endeavours in all other places for your support and supply. And I conjure you to lay aside all unnecessary modesty concerning your self at this time (when my interests are so joined with yours, that I can no longer preserve them than I support you) and to let me know what I may farther do to establish your authority, as well amongst that party of *O Neile* that are lately joined with you, as all others now in obedience to me; and what you conceive fit for me to do to confirm that party to me.

E c 4

Here

A.D. 1649 Here are lately arrived from Ireland one *St. Johns* a Priest, and one *Rockfort*, who brought me a letter from *O Farell*; but what they will demand in particular from me, I do not yet know: but coming with no authority from you, I assure you I will agree to nothing, but give them general promises, and send them to you for all things they are to expect from me; remaining with my accustomed kindness

Your very affectionate Friend,

Jersey, Jan. 16,
1649.

CHARLES R.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, we greet you well. Having taken into our consideration the contents of your letter of the 24th of *December* last, wherein you state the then condition of our affairs in that our kingdom, the particular demeanour of those of the city of *Waterford* towards you and our authority intrusted with you, notwithstanding so many demonstrations of your care to please, as well as to preserve them; the doubts you then apprehended, that example might be taken thereby in other places, and by other persons, to multiply the like, or to obtrude greater affronts upon you, and thorough you upon us; and lastly having considered your desire to receive our express command how and in such case you might best discharge your self in the trust we have reposed in you: We have thought fit to let you know, that as it is matter of great wonder to us, to find in any people so much ingratitude towards us, as to bereave them of the foresight of the inevitable destruction they must necessarily draw upon

upon themselves, by falling into the power of the ^{A.D. 1649} Rebels, and by cancelling, as to them, those obligations of pardon, and many other high graces, which (by the peace concluded by you with our subjects of that kingdom by virtue of our authority, and since ratified by us) we have freely entred into, making at once their case desperate in all events; so it is our pleasure, that in case you find they are not by any means to be brought to a right understanding and performance of their duty to us, nor others to be withheld from being seduced to the like contempt and disobedience of our authority, in apparent breach of their solemn protestation to us, and recognition of us in the beginning of the articles of peace, that then you give us immediate notice thereof, to the end that (believing our self bound to the conditions of the said peace, whilst they are destructively infringed on their parts, and made wholly useles to us) we may not neglect the taking hold of such other means as God in his good time may discover to us for our restitution. And our farther pleasure is, that then and in such case you withdraw your self and our authority out of that kingdom; yet so, as that you give in our name full assurance to such as you have found faithful to us, that we shall still retain a perfect memory of their good affections, and a stedfast purpose, as we shall be thereunto enabled by the blessing of God, to set eminent marks of our favour and estimation upon them. Given at our court at *Castle Elizabeth* in our isle of *Jersey* the second of *February*, 1649, and in the second year of our reign.

A.D. 1649

The M. of Ormonde to the Bishop of Derry.

I HAVE at length received a final answer from the city of *Limerick*; by which it is evident, that the Clergy have absolute dominion in that place, and that they will not permit it to be garrisoned, but by such as have been deemed and are their champions: so that if a man rightly weigh the condition I am in, as to the King's interest wherewith I am trusted, it is hard to determine, whether to prevail by such hands be any better than to be destroyed by *Cromwell*. It is true, that it must advantage the King to have opposition made to the English Rebels, by what hands and with what aim soever, and that these are like to be the easier enemy to deal withal at last: but it is also true, that the opposition will be the same, if not the stronger, if I be removed from them; for trust me they will not, and trust them I cannot. And if by diversion to *Cromwell* elsewhere they should become masters of the kingdom, which is not probable they ever will entirely be, his Majesty will find it easy to reduce them, if he be master of *England*: if he be not, he must hope for little here. These considerations, and an evident foresight that affronts will be multiplied upon my person and the authority I manage, and that as well through the propension of the people as they are governed, as also by the want I shall fall into, which will be such as will render me contemptible, it is possible I may be forced to remove from hence very soon: but if I can, it shall be so, as by leaving the King's authority here it may be in his power to command me to resume the Government, if he can give help to support it; or else let it fall, if he can advantage himself thereby. This, in addition to what your

Lordship

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Lordship is already charged with, you may please ^{4.D.1650} to make use of as you shall judge fittest for the King's service. I remain

Your Lordship's, &c.

Logbreagh, April 10,
1650.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Secretary Long.

S I R,

AFTER a long forced stay at *Waterford*, Captain *Roche* is at length gotten to me with what he was charged with from *Jersey*; but of *F. O Daly* I yet hear nothing. This dispatch is of so ancient a date, that though for want of wind sometimes, and sometimes by the Rebels blocking up the bay of *Galway*, my Lord *Taaffe* hath been staid till now, yet his dispatch will be little enlarged by my receipt of that by Captain *Roche*.

I cannot well imagine to what it is those pretending to be great servants to Prince *Rupert* would corrupt Father *Daly*, unless to render his Highness acceptable to this people, and to be received their Governor: which, in relation to my particular, I take to be so far from an injury (if the endeavour be not accompanied with any personal calumny) that if I could find it to be the Prince's desire, they should have my clear concurrence, and my humble suit to his Majesty to place his authority in him. But I take the truth of this matter to be, that when *Owen O Neile* and his party were in opposition to the peace, and brought into a low condition, they did by their instruments endeavour to persuade the Prince, that their aversion was not to the King's authority, but to me; and that they would be directed by his Highness in the ways of serving his Majesty.

A.D. 1650 Majesty. With this offer I was made acquainted, and desired to give my advice how it should be answered; which as I freely gave, so I verily believe it was followed by the Prince. But that treaty came to nothing, their aim being rather to divide than augment the King's party: nor is his Highness or his Majesty much beholden to those that not only offered, but did the other Rebels very considerable service, and would have continued in it, but that they found the price they set upon it would not be come to, nor what was offered to their liking secured to them: whereunto, rather than to any good affection they have to the Crown of *England*, may be imputed their coming in at last upon the same terms that were offered them before they made trial of what they might gain from the English Rebels, and found it could amount to no more than a temporary co-operation for their service against his Majesty, and to be at last brought to the destruction and slavery designed for the whole nation. Among other instruments made use of by that party to foment the old and raise new divisions in the King's party, Mr. *Rockfort* and one Colonel *Robert Fitzmorris*, brother to the Lord of *Kerry*, were principally active; and this latter was employed in the forementioned address to Prince *Rupert*. These, and other their fellows, believing their former villainies would not be forgiven, nor finding their account in the conclusion with *Owen O Neile*, continue their practice, and (I persuade my self) assume encouragements from Prince *Rupert* without warrant from him; however, some depending upon him may give too easy belief to such frothy impostors, and afford them countenance, suitable rather to their vain impossible undertakings, than to the prudence I wish were in those that have the honour of trust or favour from his Highness. This, Sir, is my sense of that business, thinking it impossible
for

for the Prince to descend to what would look like *A.D. 1650*
a supplanting of one, that hath endeavoured with
some success to serve him in his charge. For Mr.
Rockfort, if he had not come protected with a pro-
bable pretence of being employed from his Majesty
in a business of some importance, I should have
brought him to question for no less than what
might, and may yet, when that business is cleared,
come to his hanging.

I have imparted his Majesty's letters of *14 Jan-
uary* to those intrusted by the representative of the
Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, to look to the
performance of their conditions. I wish so generous
and gracious a resolution in his Majesty may meet
with a due and general retribution of gratitude and
obedience from this people, as from very many I
know it will. But such is the unhappiness of the
nation, such the unsatiable ambition, turbulent zeal,
and rooted disaffection of so many of the Clergy,
and such is their power generally with the people,
but principally in cities and towns (where they meet
spirits apt to receive and act their most violent sug-
gestions) that I fear the good inclinations of most
of the considerable Nobility and Gentry will serve
only to witness their loyalty, and to distinguish
them from the disaffected, when it shall please God
to restore his Majesty's power of punishment and
reward. To inform his Majesty how to dispense
this latter, I am authorized and commanded by his
letter of *Octob. 25. 1649*; but I have forborne to
make publick use of it, in regard of the clause
touching Ecclesiastical preferments, it not being
clear to me what Clergy his Majesty intends: for if
he intend the Protestant, I conceive the publishing
of that would for the present be ineffectual to them,
as their good desires are yet to him, and would
absolutely turn the endeavour of the Romish Clergy
against him; and if they be intended by it, I can-
not

A.D. 1650 not conceive how their promotion can be publickly or directly interposed in by his Majesty, as those dignities and livings are by their religion to be accepted by them; so that in this, without a clearer light of his Majesty's pleasure, I cannot make use of that letter.

I have brought this letter to a more troublesome length than I had designed; but yet must not conclude till I have told you, that as I am very sensible of the friendliness of your advertisements and professions as they relate to my particular, so I desire you should believe I rest assured of the reality of them, and fully resolved upon all occasions to manifest my being, &c.

June 25, 1650.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

FROM my first entrance into the employment your Majesty commanded me unto in this Kingdom, I foresaw what difficulty there would be of reconciling and uniting in your service two parties, as differing in desires and interest, and as irreconcilably exasperated by a long-continued merciless war, as ever Christians were in any time or place: and it was as obvious, that any disastrous success, weakening your Majesty's power and their hopes, would dissolve that cement that held them together; and that neither party could endeavour to colour their flying to pieces, but that I, who had joined and endeavoured with all my strength to hold them together, must in some measure by some party suffer prejudice in so violent a separation. But, I confess, it was beyond my fear, that any of the party to whom I stuck (because they still professed

fessed for your Majesty) and for whom alone the *A.D. 1650*
other pretended to have forsaken me, should be
found first most sharply and falsely to calumniate me:
yet I find by several ways, that the ever-disloyal
party of the Irish Clergy, and their adherents,
have made it their study to spread unworthy re-
ports of me wherever they hope to gain credit,
and that their impudence hath attempted your Ma-
jesty's justice; which I neglected, believing it un-
seasonable to hope for other measure at their hands,
whose designs I had ever thwarted, and to whom I
knew lying was as natural as rebellion. But when
I am informed, that under other shapes they have
taken the boldness to attempt upon your Majesty's
justice with new forgeries, and have found some
kind of countenance under your roof, I should then
think it time to make a large narrative, and shew
by what means your Majesty's affairs in this king-
dom are in my hands fallen to a degree very near
desperate: but I must then either, by being clear
in the relation, hazard the displeasing of some to
your Majesty's possible disservice, or, by concealing
the truth, weaken my own defence. My election
therefore is, to be silent in what may tend to my
own vindication, rather than by a hasty endeavour
to justify my actions, to endanger the loss of the
least party or person, that in the remotest prospect
of possibility may be of use to your cause. And
this choice I make with undoubted reliance upon
your justice and goodness; upon your justice, that
will certainly reserve a hearing for me if I live to
speak; and upon your goodness, which, if ever I
have that happiness, will esteem such a misfortune
an expiation for all my unwilling mistakes, and
persuade your Majesty, that any thing charged up-
on me beyond those are thereby refuted. I should
not have taken up any part of your Majesty's time
with so much of my self, but that my stay here
(which

AD. 1650 (which shall be as long as there are any glowings of life left in your business) and my getting off, seem equally to threaten me: and that as there is no earthly thing I have so attentively bent my force and thoughts upon, as your service; so I cannot under heaven propose a greater happiness to my self, than that your Majesty should believe me to be

Your Majesty's, &c.

Ennis, 16 June, 1653.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Byron.

My Lord,

I FIND by a letter of your Lordship's to my Lord *Taaffe*, or else of my Lord *Wentworth's*, that you have taken the pains to write me a long one in cypher, which is not yet come to my hands, though Captain *Roche* be gotten to me; so that I suppose it to be in Sir *James Preston's*, who was loth to leave his father, being in distress at *Waterford*, and willing to be the bringer of all his own dispatch. I am sorry I miss the light that letter would (I think) have given me of something that hath passed there; for though I have some knowledge of it from report and other hands; yet I should more boldly have taken notice of it (as far as you would have allowed me the liberty) if it had been confirmed by your Lordship, who I am sure have no aim in what you write but my information, as far as you conceive it may advantage me in the King's service. My Lord *Taaffe* will give you a true relation of what hath passed here, and of the present condition we are in, which is much the more unpleasant through our ignorance of what his Majesty is doing, or what any body is doing for him.

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him. His being agreed with his subjects of *Scotland* ^{A.D. 1650} is given out amongst the Rebels with some shew of trouble, and seems very probable in regard of the necessity of it for the King's restitution and their preservation from slavery, which is as certainly designed for that nation when it is effected upon this, as his Majesty's ruin and perpetual exile is: and if by a hearty co-operation to restore the King they prevent it not, I shall not grieve at their part of the calamity. To all God's other judgments upon this kingdom, it hath pleased him to add that of a very raging pestilence, which hath already apparently gained the Rebels *Kilkenny* and *Kilmallock*; and is now like to give them peaceable possession of *Waterford*. It is true, that with their gains they have the infection spread amongst them, which may make room for a less wicked generation when God finds them. In the mean time it gives (I believe) a stop to the coming over of those swarms of soldiers and planters they had promised themselves, and consequently to the full settlement of the kingdom under their obedience. I remain

Your Lordship's, &c.

Enniscorthy, 26 June, 1650.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Jermyn.

My Lord,

NOTwithstanding your resolution in my favour, expressed in your letter of the 26th of *December*, yet is that the only one I have received since that time, and not that till the 23d of this month; so little diligent have messengers been to find passage, when our ports were more in number, and

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the

A.D. 1650 the seas less infested by the Rebels ships, than now they have for some time been. This continued ignorance of the King's condition and pleasure was a great addition to my misfortunes, and perhaps in some measure a cause of them; in as much as for want of the encouragements of frequent dispatches accompanied but with cheerful promises, this people took themselves to be absolutely abandoned; nor was I able to refute malicious reports raised to that effect. What I now know by the dispatch brought by Captain *Rock* is sufficient to manifest, how contrary the King's intention is to the breach of faith he hath been aspersed with, and that he was making all possible provision for the support of his service here: but the venom of the forgery had wrought very near a deadly effect before the remedy came, and the people are at once become unworthy and incapable of support, if the King were not concerned in holding up a resistance against the Rebels. What our present condition is, my Lord *Taaffe* will at large let your Lordship know: but lest he should be forced to seek the King, where it might be the loss of his errand to take *Paris* in his way, receive this short general state of it by letter, and that briefly, without assigning reasons for it, that may tend to my justification; that being a subject for a longer discourse, and seldom seasonably ventured upon, till the business be at a full period. The Rebels are possessed of the principal ports and towns, *Limerick* and *Galway* excepted; and those are in a neutrality, nearer rebellion than obedience. They refuse to receive garrisons for their defence, for fear I should force from them what may be necessary to continue some shew of resistance in the field, and which is no where else to be had: so that for want of means and equipage for a regular army, all the war that is made upon the enemy is in very inconsiderable parties, and by disbanded

soldiers,

soldiers, by way of free-booting; and to this the ^{A.D. 1650} few troops we yet have together must come, unless supplies of foreign assistance come speedily to us, or unless such troubles arise to the enemy elsewhere, as may take from us the greater part of their force now employed here. The plague hath long raged in this kingdom, one while taking from us the use of *Galway* and the country about it (the richest and best people we had) and now of late it hath been the loss of *Kilkenny* and *Kilmallock*, as I fear it will be of *Waterford*, which therefore (though it be the second or third town of the kingdom for importance) I reckon not in our possession. To these may be added as a no less visible judgment from God upon this nation, their irremoveable distrusts, the vain unreasonable ambition of their Clergy, the mad division and contention for command, and other interests of Nobility, Gentry and Officers, and the general stupidity of all that cannot be wakened to the defence they might make, by the daily examples of bloodiness and treachery set before them by the Rebels. The consideration of all this, with the affronts put upon the King's authority, had almost persuaded me to leave them; believing also, that I being removed, their proper danger, separated from the preservation of any interest or power they feared or disaffected, would induce them to a solid union; and that would both strengthen and lengthen the resistance: but I evidently found, that my going away would encrease the division, and that those, who have been most active in procuring the peace, would sooner submit to any conditions with *Cromwell*, than live under the rule of those that opposed the peace. Discovering this, and believing that to hold the Rebels employed here with part of their force might advantage the King's designs elsewhere, I have resolved to give up my quiet to the vexations I am sure of, and my self to the treacheries I

A.D. 1650 have cause to fear, rather than be wanting to what may possibly be of use to his service. I receive so many assurances of the Queen's favour to me, that I could wish I might do or suffer something, whereunto I am not obliged by any other duty than that of gratitude to her, which alone may challenge more of either than I am capable of.

My wife tells me how highly she and her sons have been obliged to your Lordship. I can only return, that you have placed your friendship generously, because unprofitably; and that yet I am really, and constantly as is possible,

Your Lordship's, &c.

Enns, June 27, 1650.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Secretary Long.

S I R,

MR. *Rawlins* delivered his dispatch on the 9th of this month; by which I believe it appears that the treaty is ended (I hope) in an agreement with the Scots before he got thither: so that in place of arguments to dispose his Majesty to an accord so necessary, as without or besides it I see no near hope of his restitution (and delays are in his case as dangerous as any attempt can be) I shall apply my self to the use to be made of such an accord in this kingdom; which principally must be by the Scots finding out apt persons of their nation in this kingdom, for power and parts, to correspond with me, giving them instructions to that purpose, that thereby all probable opportunities may be sought and taken of their possessing some considerable places, and of my countenancing and assisting them,

for at the present they are masters of none. The *A.D. 1650*
 Lord *Montgomery* is (I am confident) very faithful,
 and for that reason under so strict a watch, that it
 will be hard for him, or for any that appeared with
 him, to contrive any such thing; so that some one
 that stood against the last conjunction of the Scots
 with me is fittest, if such a one may be had and
 rested on. In *Munster* I know no man of confide-
 ration, to work by or upon, but the Lord of *Brog-*
hill; and he is not clear of suspicion from the Re-
 bels, nor, I think, apt to trust himself into the first
 brunt of a design. If any of the western parts of
England towards the sea declare for the King, and
 that persons proper to stir him up may be found
 and sent him, it may produce something from him:
 for I believe his wishes are for the King. He may
 perhaps apprehend my Lord of *Inchiquin* cannot be
 made his friend: but I dare undertake to secure
 that fear, or his very interest, if he places it in any
 thing my Lord of *Inchiquin* possesses, or can resign,
 so it may be evidently useful to the King: and for
 this I have warrant. His Majesty's command (which
 produces these propositions) persuades me, that the
 agreement with *Scotland* (which I would fain assure
 my self is concluded) is consistent with the peace
 here. And if the conditions of it have been weigh-
 ed by judicious temperate men on the Scots party,
 together with the disadvantage so chargeable a di-
 version as the feeding of a war here, or the leaving
 it to starve, may be to the Rebels, I conceive it
 was not difficult to induce such men at least to let
 it pass in silence, and not to impose upon his Majesty
 the breach of an old engagement to his people, as
 a condition upon his entrance into a new one with
 them, I confess I want not my fears, grounded
 upon the vehement zeal of the Scottish Clergy,
 which often transports them to such a confidence in
 their cause, as to believe it cannot be helped by,

A.D. 1650 such means : yet for all that, and the fruitless hazards I may run (which are such as might with other circumstances of disobedience and stupidity in this people justify my making use of the command, rather than licence, his Majesty has given me to reserve my self for some more probable time to serve him) I am resolved to stay and struggle here, till I certainly know whether the King be agreed with *Scotland*, and whether such a diversion as I propose may be acceptable or no ; or at least I will stay as long as I have hope I may keep up such a diversion. *Rockefort*, mentioned in his Majesty's instructions, is as very a knave as *Dr. Tirrel*, and *Farrel* as either of them, in proportion to his wit and power, which are very little. The paper of demands I could not find with the instructions ; whatever they were, his Majesty will not need to fear they will be presented to him from any considerable party. It is certain the *Ulster* party, as they are governed by the Clergy, have no good affection to the crown of *England* ; and that his Majesty is not to expect obedience in this kingdom, nor Protestants comfort or security, pursuant even to the articles of peace, without the countenance of a Protestant army ; so much the violent out-number and over-power the moderate, by the help of the pernicious suggestions of a disloyal party of the Clergy. Of Father *O Daly* I yet hear nothing ; if he come, I shall soon find his bias, and thereafter pursue his Majesty's commands. Here I must by you beseech his Majesty not to give attention to such of this nation as will daily flock to him, if they can come at him, with pretences of great devotion to his service, and power to advance it ; when, in truth, their business is at the best some little improper advantage to themselves. For his Majesty may believe, that those who are most really affectionate and able to serve him, either employ themselves here

here to do it, or, when they present themselves to ^{A.D. 1649} him, will have my humble attestation with them. This Gentleman, Lieutenant Colonel *Crafford*, hath in the midst of the disaffection of his party where-with he served, and against advantageous temptations from the Rebels, served with very eminent faith and courage, whereof I desire notice may be taken, and he hastened back with his Majesty's commands. If it would please God that his Majesty's subjects of *Scotland* should be hardened, and the treaty with them broken; yet I dare not advise his Majesty's coming into this kingdom without a considerable supply of money; but with such a supply, and in that case, I conceive his coming more hopeful and honourable than any other course I can propose. Having written thus far, I find by a Diurnal from *London* strong presumptions that his Majesty is long since in *Scotland*; and certainly, that not only my Lord of *Montrose* and others, who we believe of all the Scottish nation have served the King and his Father nearest their own method, are put to death: but that Duke *Hamilton*, and those that offered at it nearer, if not exactly by the rule of the Covenant, are under a no less penalty forbidden the court, and, I think, the kingdom of *Scotland*. I that am so ignorant even in matter of fact, that I must take it by what is published by the Rebels to deceive the people, am much to seek how to understand this way of restoring his Majesty, or how I may best contribute my endeavours towards it; whether by contending with all difficulties to keep up a diversion here, or by taking the just occasion given me by the disobedience I meet with, and the liberty the King has given me, to remove my self from the certain intolerable vexation and probable destruction I shall be subject unto. In case his Majesty shall command my stay, it will be necessary that the course proposed in the begin-

A.D. 1650
 W ning of my letter be taken, and that I may be fortified with some gracious declaration from his Majesty, subsequent to the agreement of *Scotland*, in favour of all that have been and shall continue loyal and affectionate to his service, and also directed by new instructions how to govern my self therein. And even in case of my removal, I conceive, without such a declaration and purpose as to those that have been faithful, his Majesty cannot with honour acquit himself towards this people, whereof many have perished, and more are like to do, for their loyalty to the crown. And if I am to remove, I shall humbly beg his Majesty's directions how to dispose of my self. Not that I would be an unreasonable useles burthen to him, or in the least measure a disquieter of the thoughts of those that have taken his business in hand, by my attendance upon his person; but that if in no other capacity I can appear in his service, I may pray for it by whomsoever managed, and bestow my endeavours to get bread for my family. I have by my Lord *Taaffe* and by Sir *Lewis Dive* endeavoured to give the King an account of our condition. I hope one of them will get to his Majesty, and that you will hasten his pleasure to me with the speed you observe my condition requires, who am

Yours, &c.

July 18, 1650.

ORMONDE.

My Lord Marquis of *Clanricard*, having at all times pursued his Majesty's interest with singular constancy, and still asserted the Royal authority as far as was possible for any man in his condition to do, will justly expect his Majesty should take proportionable care of him, and declare his pleasure how he shall dispose of himself for the future

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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ture in his service. If his Majesty think fit, *A.D. 1650*
upon consideration of the account I have given
him of the state of things here, to recall his au-
thority from hence; or if I be compelled to re-
move it by the concurring inforcements of the
Rebels power, this people's disobedience, and
the want of support from abroad, he will in such
case go with me.

*The M. of Ormonde to the King, sent by
General John Digby.*

May it please your Majesty,

I HAVE given your Majesty by Mr. Secretary
Long (supposing he attends your Royal person)
the best account I am able of the affairs of this
kingdom; as I have by several dispatches hereto-
fore endeavoured to do. The sum of all is, that
without the speedy application of supplies hither,
and (if it be possible) of such a force as may have a
faithful and entire dependance upon your Majesty,
your government will certainly be expelled this
kingdom by the open professed force of the English
Rebels; or, if they be weakened by the happy
success of your arms in *England*, and fail of their
conquest for want of support thence, your authority
will be no less endangered by a rebellion already in
preparation by many of the natives here, who are
incited thereunto, and supported therein, by that
prevalent party of the Roman Catholick Clergy,
to whose infusions of disobedience to the people the
Rebels owe more of their success, than to any other
human cause; and who may, notwithstanding the
treason in their heart, yet profess loyalty with their
tongues and pens. Though I am encompassed with
these extremities on all sides, yet my resolution is
to attend your Majesty's pleasure upon this and my
fore-

A.D. 1650 forementioned dispatches, if all my industry, and the assistance I hope for from those that continue faithful to your Majesty, shall be able till then to keep some footing in the kingdom: if not, I shall either perish in that endeavour, with humble submission to God's good pleasure, and with much satisfaction in having to the last discharged my duty to your Majesty, or else I shall wait upon you as soon as I may, to give an account of what I have done in obedience to your commands, and to lay at your feet whatever remains in the power of, &c.

2 Sept. 1650.

The M. of Ormonde to Mr. Secretary Long.

S I R,

BY my Lord *Taaffe* I sent his Majesty a dispatch dated the of *June*, and by Sir *Lewis Dive* a duplicate of that; and now by General *Digby* I send a triplicate. In those was stated the condition of affairs here in the greatest clearness a disorder of so many parts could admit. My Lord *Taaffe* landed in *France* about *July* 5th, and writ to me from *Jersey* in his letters of the 15th, that he found his Majesty was gone for *Scotland*; that he conceived it unsafe to follow him, or to appear there with him; that from his Highness the Duke of *York* he could receive no advice how to dispose of himself or his dispatches for the King's service in the relief of this kingdom; and that he was therefore then ready to go for *Paris*, to receive there his Majesty's commands. But what is become of Sir *L. Dive*, or of a little vessel of mine in which he set sail about *June* 20th, I have not heard; nor have I received any thing from his Majesty since his agreement with his Scots subjects; nor from any other any certain knowledge

knowledge how far the peace made in this kingdom is concerned in that accord: so that for want of knowledge of what hath passed in that particular, great advantage is left to such as are industrious to withdraw this people from their allegiance, by infusing into them a belief, that by his Majesty's having taken or approved of the Covenant, they are deprived of the benefit of the peace, and left to the extirpation the Covenant proposes both of their religion and persons. This, with the natural inclination of most of the Clergy and of many families to rebellion, even without any colour of provocation, or want of performance on his Majesty's part, hath stiffened the disobedience of the remaining towns, and produced from the Clergy (who take upon them when and where to meet upon their own authority) the inclosed proposition, where in civil language, and under pretence of getting supplies, they manifest their desire to be rid of the King's authority, unless placed in such hands as they know will make use of it only to their rebellious purposes; as appears by this, that my Lord of *Clanricard*, or any other who like him, though Roman Catholics, are faithful to the Crown, would be as little pleasing to them as my self. To this proposition of theirs I returned the inclosed answer; which whether it will produce a direct declaration against me, and an excommunication of all that shall adhere to me, or not, is more than I am certain of; though I be told it will. If it do, I am to expect, that all the personal calumny they can invent will be laid upon me, and that they will still pretend for the King; which they have at all times as ridiculously as falsely done, when they were at the highest pitch of their rebellion. This is my condition in relation to that party, by whose means it is, that I could never obtain so much as the countenance of any city or town, under which I might easily

A.D. 1650 easily and securely have formed as good an army as ever I yet had; which by reason of the Rebels mastering power in the field could not otherwise be done: and consequently through them it is that the Rebels have gained *Clonmel*, *Teeroghan*, *Waterford*, *Duncannon*, and without any apprehension of resistance done what they pleased wherever they could but march, to his Majesty's loss of the kingdom, to my dishonour that have been forced to sit idle, and to their own inevitable ruin. The Rebels being now clear masters of *Leinster*, *Ulster*, and *Munster*, save some little places and parties that infest their quiet, rather than make war upon them, they are at liberty with their united force to invade this province; which though easily defended, considering the impassable river that with a little help of men fortifies a great part of it towards *Leinster* and *Munster*, and the strength of the passages they must come through out of *Ulster*; yet such is the distraction the Clergy have incumbered all persons and business with, and such the want of foresight in the people of their own danger, and backwardness in being brought to the ways of preventing it when manifested to them, that if the truth of the reports we hear of his Majesty's good success against the Rebels in *England* occasion not some such distraction among those there, they will quickly attempt and easily force a passage. The consideration of this would induce me to make present use of the liberty his Majesty hath given me to remove myself from so probable (and to his service unprofitable) ruin: but in hopes of the truth of those reports we hear of his Majesty's advantages over the Rebels, and for the reasons expressed in my letters by Lieutenant Colonel *Crafford*, a duplicate whereof was sent by Captain *Albert Morton*, and a triplicate now by the bearer.

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If his Majesty shall find it fit, upon the representations I have made to him, to remove his authority quite out of this unhappy kingdom, or from me to some other more acceptable to the people (which, if it can suit with his Majesty's interest, will be as pleasing as it must be advantageous to me) or, if I be forced hence, I shall humbly desire to know, whether I may not securely attend upon him to give him an account of what he hath trusted with me, and to be then disposed of as he shall judge most for his service. The letters sent by Sir *James Preston* I have but newly received; he having been all the time of the blocking up of *Waterford* kept there by his father. If he had come before my last dispatches went, I should by them have acknowledged to you what I find from hands I much rely on of your friendship to me; which I can now only retribute with bare but very real professions of my resolution to lay hold on, and very earnest desires to find occasions to serve you, as

A.D. 1650

Your very affectionate, &c.

Logbreab, 2 Sept. 1650.

ORMONDE.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord of Ormonde,

THOUGH I have lately written to you by Dr. *King*, yet I cannot but take this occasion to acknowledge the great and faithful services you have done me. For the present I have no other way to express my gratitude, and the just sense I have of them, but to take care of your person, as of that in which I find my self much concerned. And I do therefore entreat you to be so careful of
your

A.D. 1650 your self, as not to hazard it any longer than you shall find good reason and cause for it; and of this I make you so much the judge, as I shall take it very unkindly, if I find you do not withdraw your self so timously as to preserve your safety for better times. This bearer is represented to me for a very honest man; and I believe you know him already well enough to trust the relation he will give you of my condition here. I shall not therefore make this longer than to tell you, that I am with great kindness

Yours, &c.

St. Johnstone,
Sept. 13, 1650.

CHARLES R.

*The M. of Ormonde to Lord Cottington and
Sir E. Hyde, Ambassadors in Spain.*

My Lords,

THE misfortune of my being entangled in some business, that allowed me not time to write to your Lordships when Mr. *Fanshaw* went hence, I should have accounted much the greater, if any other person had gone: but he was so perfect in the first transaction of the peace, in the success of the Rebels arms, in the condition of the King's affairs when he went, and in the preparations that I think even before his going were making by a violent party of the Clergy, to shake off the King's authority, that, if I had had time to write, it would have been little more than a credential to him: and that also I conceive was supplied both by his publick interest in the King's business, and your Lordships particular knowledge of his zeal, and the abilities that are in him to observe what may tend most to it.

Since

Since his going, there hath been a strong concurrence of all that is usually called industry and accident, to make easy and complete the Rebels conquest of this kingdom; and that not only on their part, or on theirs that by plain treachery revolted and betrayed towns to them, but on the part of those that can at the best expect nothing from them but a strict servitude for the present, and at last a total eradication of their nation and religion, if the Rebels shall be able to master their designs in *England* and *Scotland*; or (which is a greater damnation) to make them one people with them. I cannot say that this is unforeseen by them that guide the people into the ways directly tending to it; for that were to deny them reasoning souls: I must therefore conclude, that they support any consideration better, and will run any hazard, rather than that of coming again under the obedience of the crown of *England*; and that supposing the present rebellious government of *England* cannot stand upon the foundation whereon it is built, but must with a war be changed into some other, they aim at removing all shew of the King's authority amongst them, that they may be ready, during the contention, to set up a Clergy-government. If this be not their purpose, I dare say they have none so probable; and in this they have so far prevailed (by such forgeries as could be obtruded upon no people under heaven but this) that no commands of mine, though never so apparently for their own defence, meet with obedience, either in the remaining towns to receive garrisons, or in the country or soldiery to draw together; so that now the Rebels are clear masters of three provinces, the county of *Clare* and city of *Limerick* in *Munster* (which is worse than neutral) only excepted, and are now at both ends of the river *Shannon* near *Limerick* and *Athlone*, endeavouring at either to pass over

A.D. 1650 over into *Connaught*; which if they compass, as they are like to do, the kingdom will shortly be entirely theirs. A foresight that I should be brought to this state, and the knowledge I gave his Majesty of it, produced, from his gracious care of me, a command rather than liberty to withdraw my self hence: but upon notice of his being agreed with his subjects of *Scotland*, and upon reports of the happy success of his arms, I resolved against all difficulties to oppose my desire to be some time longer serviceable to him, in diverting some part of the Rebels forces, which I saw would instantly upon my removal be masters of the kingdom: which besides the reputation of fully compassing such a work, would have been a real advantage to the Rebels in *England*, by the sending thither of what forces of their own they pleased, strengthened, as they would, by common soldiers of the natives, of whom even here they get great numbers to recruit their weakened troops, and to help to enslave this nation. My stay for this end hath been now so long, that I find I shall run much hazard in getting off, which is now the work I am labouring for: but if his Majesty's success in *England* be such as I uncertainly hear it, and that of itself it shall suddenly so distract the Rebels, as to put them to an absolute stand, I shall think of holding some footing here, and, if I prevail, give your Lordships present advertisement of it. And so I remain, &c.

1650.

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The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

SOME of the conditions I was constrained to admit of to procure a peace with this people, and the satisfaction I was forced to give the English party under the command of the Lord *Inchiquin*, to purchase their submission to it and conjunction with the Irish in your service, though they were the only means by which it was possible to bring your affairs to the hopeful state they were in before the defeat near *Dublin*; yet that and other misfortunes happening, those compliances and the restraints they left upon your Majesty's authority, as they were in a great measure the most apparent causes of those misfortunes, so are those conditions to the Irish the greatest grounds of despair that now appears to me of holding on the war here. The conclusion of a second peace with *Owen O Neile* and his party, which became absolutely necessary, on the defection of upon the matter all the English towns and forces in *Munster*, and by the arrival and success of *Cromwell*, though it have considerably assisted the preservation of the towns yet remaining, and seemed to be a probable means to unite this people, and remove the cause and support of any division amongst them; yet the Clergy, who perhaps think their ambition and avarice are not sufficiently provided for and secured in the peace, and taking the *Ulster* party (who have little justly to pretend to, and less in possession) to be those upon whom they are most likely to prevail to cast behind them all consideration of loyalty to your Majesty, or love to their country, when either shall come in competition with their interest, do make use of their power, which is great every where, but

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M.D. 1650 chiefly in the towns, to keep the *Ulster* party strong, and out of it to garrison all places of consideration; and in this they have the assistance of some of the Commissioners, by whose consent, and not otherwise, forces are to be raised and maintained, and towns garrisoned. If they can gain this point, either the towns must not be garrisoned at all, and then they are lost as soon as looked upon; or if they be, it will be with such a sort of men, from whose success your Majesty can expect no advantage, nor ever to be master of those places, whatever the event be, but by subduing them; and but that perhaps it will not suit with the Rebels interests to come to their conditions, I doubt not but they might purchase any place that shall be thus secured; though it be made clear enough to the Clergy and to the *Ulster* party, that this insatiable desire of usurping all power into their hands, as it is most unjust, so it is most ruinous even to their own ends; since it must necessarily produce, first a distrust in, and then a division of a great party from them: yet I doubt whether that will prevail to bring them to such moderation, as to make it much more desirable to have them than the Rebels in possession of those towns.

Reasons why it is better for the King's service and the preservation of the Nation, that I immediately attend his Majesty, than stay here.

1. **T**HE distrust wrought in the minds of the people by the insinuations of some factious persons, rather countenanced than suppressed by most of the Bishops, and fortified by the giving up of *Cahir*, *Gowling*, and other places, where men of

of near dependance upon and relation to me were *A.D. 1650*
trusted, hath taken such deep root in them, that
there is small hope, and now very little time or
advantage to remove it, though the Bishops here
present should endeavour it never so really. By
which means the King's authority will fall daily in-
to more contempt, and will in a short time lose the
remaining shew of respect, rather than obedience,
that is yet paid unto it: and the people believing
themselves betrayed will think it vain to be per-
suaded into action, which may render them incapa-
ble of conditions from the enemy; or if they be
with much difficulty, perhaps with Church-censures,
gotten forth, it will be with despair, not hope of suc-
cess, whilst they suspect their leader of having made
conditions for himself upon their ruin; or if not,
that being an heretick he cannot prosper. These dis-
trusts, and the union of the nation (if any thing can
do it) will the one be removed, and the other esta-
blished by my retiring; and it will be more for the
King's service, that some opposition be made against
the enemy, though without dependance upon his
authority (which I doubt is at least held unfortu-
nate) than that the people should be totally subject-
ed to the Rebels without resistance.

2. If the want of any diversion in *England*, and
of any supply hither, shall make it impossible in
human appearance to resist the undistracted force
and design of the enemy, and that the towns and
people observing this shall resolve or be forced to
submit to conditions such as they can get, then
shall I, and as many men of honour and loyalty as
will adhere to me, be necessitated to condition also,
or (which is much better as to me) become a de-
serted small party, subject to the scorn of enemies
of all hands, and to the treachery of such as may
give us up for their own indemnity, or some mean
reward. Whereas if I be gone, it may be excusa-

A.D. 1650  ble, may fit for the best-affected, in case of extremity, to condition for themselves; so their conditioning expresse not an absolute perpetual subjection to the Rebels, but such a temporary compliance as may preserve them in state with honour to resume arms for his Majesty, when they find a probable opportunity.

3. I find that none of the Protestants, but such as are not in case to get off or live elsewhere, will stay with us: and these will not be a number that will be accounted a party. Now one of the greatest advantages my person was or could be of to this nation was, what my interest with the Protestants gave me, which, if I stay, when they are gone will be wholly lost; so as upon any change of the King's affairs for the better, it will not be in my power to save the best-affected, unless I keep my self with some esteem with them.

4. My presence at the transactions now in *Holland* may be of use to this kingdom: my staying here can be of little service. I am ready to leave his Majesty's authority with any that are fit to manage it.

5. I conceive the garrisoning of *Limerick* and *Galway* (without which it seems not possible or prudent for any man to manage the war here) is principally refused in distrust of me, and that when I am gone they will be persuaded to receive garrisons, which, of what party of Irish soever it be, will tend more to the preservation of the nation, than to have none; though as to me in the present exercise of the King's authority, such men are like to be fixed upon, as I will not trust my self with, and others I believe I shall not persuade them to receive.

6. Those that would persuade me, that the people's belief in me is in some measure suitable to my desires to preserve them, do attribute whatever appears to the contrary to the power they suppose my

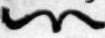
Lord *Inchiquin* has with me: and the distaste is said *A.D. 1650* to be so great and general against him, that whilst he is in power, or indeed upon the place, they will pretend dissatisfaction and despair of success. But I am not satisfied, that if he were removed, their distrust of me would be so too; and I think not fit (upon such uncertainties, as are the measures we can take of this people's resolutions) to shew an indifference towards him, or a desire to separate from his interests, to whom I have some obligation, in reference to his seasonable active endeavours for the King's service, and his desire to co-operate with me in it, out of a confidence in my friendship and honesty; so that for both of us to remove I take to be best for all interests. If he should go alone, it is possible some sharp expostulations, that have past betwixt him and those intrusted by the nation, may sharpen his relation of their carriage and intentions; and if he stay, he will neither trust nor be trusted by them, and may think of some course for his safety, that may not suit with theirs.

7. My fortune being wholly lost, and with it my credit for money, by which I supported my self ever since I came into the kingdom, I shall presently fall into such wants as will render the King's authority contemptible; and if it were reasonable to hope that the little remainder could supply me.

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord of Ormonde,

THE distracted and miserable condition of this kingdom and my affairs here, is so much fitter for a discourse than a letter, that I cannot be sorry I have not the means to give you a particular

A.D. 1650  ticular account of it but by this bearer, Mr. Digby, who is so well known to you, that I shall not labour much in his recommendation. I have instructed him as well as I can, and believe you may give credit to his relation.

The hazards and dangers (besides the trouble) I hear you do expose your self unto upon all occasions, makes me take this to intreat and command you to have a care of your person ; in the preservation of which I would have you believe I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get there. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country, and retire into *France*, then I do very earnestly desire and intreat you to repair to my brother the Duke of *York*, to advise and assist him with your counsels, upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have written and sent instructions to him to be advised by you upon all occasions ; and I doubt not of his chearful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him.

If the Commissioners who treated to bring me hither had made good their undertakings, I had been in a condition to have helped my Lady, and had done it before now : but as they have not answered my expectation in all things, so they have much disappointed me in point of money ; and the ill success of my affairs hath either so discredited me, or discouraged my friends elsewhere (who upon my coming hither promised to supply me) that I am not yet in a capacity of doing any thing that way ; which is indeed as much a grief to me, as any thing else I suffer. But if it please God to amend my condition, and give me the means, I will not fail to do it : nor do I desire any thing with more passion, than that it may be in my power
to

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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to acquit my obligations to you, and approve my self *A.D. 1650*

Your most affectionate and constant Friend,

St. Johnston's,
Nov. 11. 1650.

CHARLES R.

The M. of Ormonde to the M. of Clanricarde.

My Lord,

I DESIRED my Lord of *Inchiquin* to give your Lordship an account of our passage, and of what else he could learn at *St. Malo*, either for certainty or importance worthy your knowledge; and he tells me, that finding the *St. Peter* frigate ready to go to sea, he did as I desired him. The satisfaction he was able to give your Lordship touching the condition of our King and his affairs could not be much; for though during a fortnight's stay here I have seen letters twice a week from *Paris* and out of *Holland*, yet I am little instructed in it. This I gather out of all I have heard, that there are three parties in *England*; one absolutely and rigidly for the Kirk and their severe designs; another of a milder sort of Presbyterians, that profess to make that part of the Covenant which provides for the King's safety, honour, and greatness, as much their care, as the speciousness of the words of the Covenant do seem to oblige; and they would appear apt enough to smooth the roughness of the sense of those parts of the Covenant that point at the prejudice of the King's ancient constant party; and a third sort there are, that would be understood to be that ancient constant party. Of these the first have hitherto had the visible power; the second have been suffered to live freely upon

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their

A.D. 1650 their own, and many of them have (upon shews of repentance and easy penance for their last engagements) slipt into employments; but the last are held in manifest distrust, and under a perfect persecution. The most certain intelligence I have had of the state of our King and of that kingdom is, that his Majesty attempting to get to a party of the third sort I have mentioned, which he was promised should be considerably ready to receive him, was followed by a party of horse, and persuaded back to *Stirling* castle, where he remains guarded; which some think is not the worse for him, the party he thought to go to having not risen in that number, or so well provided, as he was made to hope they would. *Cromwell* is master of the field, and consequently of *Edinburgh* and all other places south of *Stirling*, which is a pass and holds against him. The castle of *Edinburgh*, and some other towns, are said to be held against him. Some late letters say, that all parties in *Scotland* are united in their own defence; and, I am told, a *London* Diurnal says little less. When I arrive at *Paris* I shall be more certainly informed of what I have ventured to conjecture, and may receive new intelligence, which I shall use all diligence to transmit to your Lordship. By this inclosed letter from my Lord *Taaffe* to a Lady here, your Lordship sees what he had then gotten for the relief of that kingdom, and what his hopes were that it might yet be preserved. I gave him notice of my arrival by a letter I sent him the next post day after my coming hither; and at *Paris* I expect to receive what he may have farther to say to me. I am told, four or five vessels, besides the *St. Peter*, are gone away laden with arms and ammunition; at the return of some of them I shall hope to know what the result of the assembly, and what your Lordship's resolutions have been upon the letters
and

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and authority I sent your Lordship and them. If ^{A.D. 1651} that people have been so happy as to have given your Lordship encouragement to govern them, it may be hoped they may yet be saved from the ruin their madness has almost driven upon them; at the worst, their conditions will be better made, if they be united under such a conductor, than either severed into small parties, or under the government of the Clergy, who have not been happy to themselves or others, whenever they have aspired to a rule so contrary to their function. And in case your Lordship shall find it impossible to continue a resistance, I can most confidently assure you, that his Majesty will be glad if his authority will be a means to preserve them, that like and with your Lordship have so long and faithfully contended to uphold it; so that you are not to scruple at obeying inevitable necessities, for having the King's power in your hands.

If your Lordship, with the assistance of my friends there, can supply me with some money, I am sure you will; and that to them it will be no necessary argument to say, that I may by that means return the courtesy with interest, by my endeavours to serve them; but to others it may be fit to make it a consideration.

I have written to Sir *John Grenville* and the Governor of *Jersey*, that in case the galliot should be put into either of those islands, they would secure and send her to your Lordship, and, if they can, laden with ammunition; but I have not yet heard of her, nor of *Bacon's*, or the great ship wherein *George Lane*, *Butler*, and the rest went. God send they escaped the storm that had like to have drowned

Your Lordship's, &c.

Caen, 20 Jan.
1651. N. S.

ORMONDE.

The

A.D. 1651 The wine here is not good: at *Rouen* the plague is hot; and I can hear of no vessels going, else I would have sent you such as there is.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Taaffe.

My Lord,

MY longer stay in *Ireland* was as impossible, as it was improbable you should find cause to alter your advice for my removal; and I persuade my self, that my coming away may tend more to the preservation of the nation than my stay could have done; if the Assembly I left sitting and my Lord of *Clanricard* have so far satisfied each other, as that his Lordship hath found cause to undertake the government by virtue of the power I left with him; and either that is done, or else conditions are sought from the Rebels before this time. If there be a present agreement, and that his Lordship hath gained absolute power in the two remaining towns (without which no supply can be of considerable use) I shall be most ready to return, if I find a solid foundation for frequent supplies, a willingness in the people to receive me upon the peace, and that all may tend as well to the advantage of my Master, as the preservation of the people, and the satisfaction of whoever supplies that war.

But what positively to say of the matter, either of holding up the war, or of drawing men thence to foreign service, I know not, till I shall have heard the result of the Assembly; and till then also I forbear to publish a letter I writ to the Assembly for my own vindication, lest the necessary discoveries I have made of the falseness and folly of the Clergy's proceedings may give interruption to the union and preservation of the nation, which I prefer

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fer far before any interest of my own, even the ^{A.D. 1651} clearing of my honour traduced by them. And I doubt not but a like affection in your Lordship will induce you to proceed in procuring all you can possibly get for that poor nation's preservation, by whomsoever it is endeavoured. I build not much upon any treaty here, or elsewhere, for my subsistence; but as to that, I shall fully instruct my Lord of *Inchiquin* with my sense, and the power I have to go through with my undertakings; and till he come where you are, your Lordship may please to say nothing of me to the Duke of *Lorrain*, more than that I desire much to be known to him by my readiness to serve him. I have here the cypher you left my Lady *Isabella*, and am in plain English

Your's, &c.

Paris, 26 Jan. 1651.

ORMONDE.

I have no body to copy my letters, and have so ill a memory, that I must desire your Lordship to keep all those I send you.

The M. of Ormonde to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

I ENDEAVOURED by Dr. *King* to give your Majesty an account of the receipt of your commands by him, and some heads of the late proceedings in *Ireland* before my coming thence; which, though it was but short, yet I have not now time to renew; such is my fear, that Mr. *Fanshaw* may be gone to your Majesty before my letters get to him, and that your Majesty should not receive the humble acknowledgments I am obliged to

A.D. 1651 to make for the care you have been pleased to express of my safety. It is now more than five weeks since I embarked in the bay of *Galway*, and have not yet heard whether my Lord of *Clanricarde* have found cause to take upon him the government of that kingdom, according to my desire unto him, and the power which for your Majesty's service I presumed to leave with him. If he have undertaken it, there will yet some resistance be kept on foot against the Rebels: and if there be reception for them and means to transport them, your Majesty may command me with five thousand men, or more, whither you please, and as soon. Nor is your Majesty to take care in what condition I am to serve you; for I shall submit to any, or to be only a conductor of them to any your Majesty shall think fit to commit them unto. The life, preserved by God's providence and your gracious care, is now most humbly laid at your feet by

Your Majesty's, &c.

Paris, 28 Jan. 1651.

ORMONDE.


The M. of Ormonde to the M. of Clanricarde.

My Lord,

THOUGH I cannot absolutely excuse my negligence by the misfortune some dispatches of mine to you have had; yet I can very truly say, that I have been as industriously vigilant as it was possible for me to be, to observe and lay hold upon any occasion that might offer the least opportunity of relieving or informing you, both before and since the King's arrival in this kingdom. But before his arrival the best informations we could get of his condition

condition were as uncertain, as his very condition ^{A.D. 1652} was in relation to any judgment to be made of the event: and since his arrival I have good witnesses, how early and how earnestly I have solicited the sending away Sir *George Hamilton* with the first of the two dispatches you will receive herewith. But the plain truth is, the King could never set aside from the literal necessity of his own subsistence what might bear his charges, nor yet can; which is a sad reason why a cheaper means of conveyance is at last found out. And now I cannot, without injustice to the King, offer unto you any part of the great value and care he expresses of your person and interest, as an effect of my mediation, or to expiate for the slowness of my performing what I promised you; for really the King's own inclinations, and wise tenderness of your safety, anticipates all motions from others tending to it. But I can say, till he was upon the place, there was no power to give you the liberty you now have from him, nor any reason why it should be assumed by any. Let these truths, which are partly real excuses, and, what they want in that, a flat begging your pardon, serve to restore me any measure of loss in your belief of my friendship and constant desire to serve you.

The letters you will receive from his Majesty are so full, as to direction, information, and approbation, that it would be impertinence in me to offer at adding any thing of my own to them in those particulars: yet something there remains proper enough for me, touching the transaction on this side the sea with the Duke of *Lorrain*, because your Lordship with great reason was startled at the countenance sought to be gained to that business by a letter of mine to the Lord *Taaffe*, and perhaps at some expressions in that letter, that, strained by the skill of those concerned in the justification of the matter

A.D. 1652 matter concluded, might seem too indulgent to it.  What I shall say to it is briefly this; first, what you have already observed, that the letter bears date some months before the contract concluded, and so could not amount to a subsequent approbation; and if you please to add, that it was impossible for me then to foresee that they having your authority only to treat, should yet conclude (omitting your name) in the behalf of others that neither did, nor, if they did, could justly authorize them; and consequently that my approbation can in no sense be applied to that; the truth being, that till you sent them over I never saw them, nor had any knowledge that they were more than you had agreed unto with the Abbot of *St. Catharine's*. In the next place I must inform you, that it was no part of my purpose, when I writ that letter, to give any thing like instructions to guide, or authority to warrant, a contract of that high nature and importance, as your Lordship will easily believe when you consider the shortness of the expressions that concerned it, and that it was mixt with other things. Lastly, if the words of my letter be well weighed, and compared with the articles, I believe it will not appear, in any reasonable construction, (how unwary soever I was in a private letter, written purely as a private person) that they justify such an absolute resignation of the kingdom, as that agreement plainly imports. But to give your Lordship full proof of the want of ingenuity in the justification endeavoured by those Gentlemen for themselves, I send you the copy of a paper given by them to the Duke of *Lorrain* to that purpose; which, compared with the letter, you will find that they foully misrecite it, by leaving out your name, and by understanding the Assembly that last sat, for that which concluded the peace and instituted the commissioners of trust, who indeed could be

only

only intended by me, when I say "your Lordship, *A.D. 1652*
 "and such as the late General Assembly intrusted,
 "are best judges of your own condition." That
 your Lordship may also see the sense of his Majesty
 upon that business, I send you observations drawn
 by his command, and given to my Lord *Norwich*,
 to be made use of, in case the justification of, or
 proceeding still upon those articles, should be in-
 sisted on: but that being wisely waved by the Com-
 missioners, and generously by the Duke of *Lorrain*,
 they serve now only to let you see how much all
 men here are of your opinion, and as in reserve
 against any thing should be resumed upon that
 foot.

I would most willingly conclude with some as-
 surance to you of supplies; but neither my reliance
 upon the Duke of *Lorrain's* power will permit me
 to be over positive in my undertakings; though I
 can say, that the highest and most probable endea-
 vours imaginable within the King's ability are laid
 before him: but of this the Commissioners now that
 they are restored to his Majesty's gracious favour,
 and directed to give you constant intelligence, will
 best inform you, being upon the place, from whence
 only supplies can presently be expected. It is true,
 that his Majesty has designed personally to endeavour
 the stirring up of the affections of the Emperor and
 other Princes in *Germany* to his cause; and he hopes
 to be shortly on the journey. But if the Duke of
Lorrain shall desist from affording his help, I fear
 you are not in case to stay for what may be expected
 from the German design, unless it shall please God to
 raise some such division amongst the English Rebels,
 as may interrupt the levies they are preparing against
 you. Dean *King* being not yet come hither, nor
 having imparted any thing to us that he had in
 charge beyond his instructions, which refer to what
 he had to say, I am able to give you no farther an-
 swer

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A.D. 1652 swer to any of your dispatches. I am now to inform your Lordship, that with the King's permission and by the advice of all the friends I have here and in *England*, my wife will shortly go for *England*, to endeavour the securing of her own estate and the support of her family; which I hold necessary to tell you, lest you, or those that know me less, should think I will be less industrious or zealous in furthering the relief of that kingdom in a way of opposition to the Rebels; which I assure you I shall not. And so I remain

Your Lordship's, &c.

Louvre, Mar. 17,

1652.



ORMONDE.

F I N I S.

